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JOHN BARBOUR:

POET & TRANSLATOR

By GEORGE NEILSON

1900.

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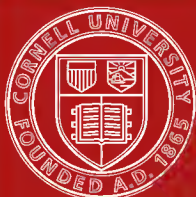
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JOHN BARBOUR:

POET AND TRANSLATOR.

BY

GEORGE NEILSON,

AUTHOR OF "TRIAL BY COMBAT," ETC.

LONDON:

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LIMITED.

1900.

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TO
PROFESSOR W. P. KER, LL.D.
FRIEND
CRITIC
AND STUDENT OF ROMANCE.

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G. N.

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August, 1900.

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JOHN BARBOUR: POET AND TRANSLATOR.

I. BARBOUR'S *Bruce*.

Date. Literary Allusions.

I COME from Scotland to plead against eminent Germans, Englishmen, and Scotsmen for a Scottish poet, and to maintain his claim to translations some of which were directly part of the educative processes fitting him to produce his great original historical *chanson de geste*. A national heirloom was added to the treasury of Scotland when John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, completed under Robert II, the first of the Stewart kings, his poem of *The Bruce*.¹ Editors and others have somehow failed to notice that the author's note about the "tyme of the compylyng of this buk," giving four different methods of computation of the date and expressly naming 1375 (Br., xiii, 694), is distinct in assigning a time after February 22, 1375-6, when five years of Robert II's reign had passed, and before March 24, 1375-6, when the year 1375 as then counted came to a close.

The story of Bruce is told with not a few citations of secular literary sources in prose and verse, including (1) Guido de Columpna's *Destruction of Troy* (Br., i, 395, 521), referred to under the familiar names of Dares and Dictys; (2) the romance of Alexander (Br., i, 533; iii, 73; x, 706); (3) the *Brut* (Br., i, 549); (4) the story of Thebes (Br., ii, 528; vi, 183); and (5) the romance of Ferumbras (Br., iii, 436). Question is possible in each of these cases regarding the precise shape in which the sources were drawn upon. The relation to the Alexander legend and the tale of Troy, two themes found so inspiring by the Middle Ages, will be discussed, beginning with the latter, while the former stands over till intermediate topics pass.

¹ All citations are made from Professor Skeat's edition for the Scottish Text Society, 1894.

II. THE TROY FRAGMENTS.

The MS. Ascription : "Her endis Barbour."

Some time in the fifteenth century, after 1420, the compiler of a verse translation of Guido possibly finding some incompleteness in the manuscripts at his disposal, pieced together two renderings. One was that of John Lydgate, the monk of Bury. The other was a Scottish version, and the compiler began with it. Near the termination of the second book, at the end of his description of the necromantic powers of Medea, he either found material lacking, or purposely deserted the Scottish version for the English : "Her endis Barbour and begynnys the monk" he wrote to distinguish. Thereafter he followed Lydgate till he reached the conspiracy of Antenor and Aeneas, and Priam's distress over their treasonable designs, when he resumed the Scottish version with the words "Her endis the monk and begynnys Barbour." (See the *Troy fragments* in Barbour's *Legendensammlung*, edited by Professor C. Horstmann, Heilbronn, 1881, vol. ii, pp. 227, 229. The two pages of the manuscript which bear the ascription are facsimiled in *National MSS. of Scotland*, part ii, No. lxxiv. For the date 1420 see the conclusion of the fragment in Horstmann, ii, 304. Future citations of the *Troy fragments* are made to "Troy fr.," parts i or ii, and the number of the line.)

With an ascription so plain, so near the period with which it deals, so nicely discriminative between the two component parts of the compilation, so absolutely true as regards "the monk," scepticism might have learned to suspect itself before daring to reject the other half, Barbour's half, of the intimation. Instead, the grammar and the rime-lore of the critics have blinded them to the presence of the poet's idiosyncrasies in the translator's work ; they have devised laws for rime all too rigorous for Barbour, who was no purist ; they have not sufficiently remembered that different themes involve great changes in vocabulary and treatment ; while, significant of philological rather than historical preferences, it escapes notice that in the old inventory of the library of the Cathedral where Barbour served, there was a *Hystoria Trojana* as well as another volume, *De Bellis Trojanorum* (Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis, ii, 156).

III. THE LEGENDS OF THE SAINTS.

This series of translations, mainly from the Golden Legend, first had a Scottish origin assigned to it from internal evidence by the

late Henry Bradshaw, whose conclusion that it was "the verse of Barbour and in his language" was warmly seconded by Cosmo Innes (*Nat. MSS. Scotland*, part ii, No. lxxv, preface, p. xvii). The entire text has been twice edited, first by Horstmann in Barbour's *Legendensammlung* in 1881, and afterwards by Dr. W. M. Metcalfe for the Scottish Text Society in 1888-96. Between these dates the same scepticism as challenged the express ascription of the *Troy fragments* to Barbour disturbed the quiet possession of Bradshaw's opinion about the *Legends*. The Scottish Text Society's edition, the completion of which followed Professor Skeat's edition of the *Bruce* for the same Society in 1894, gives the *Legends* as not Barbour's. Both as regards the *Troy fragments* and the *Legends*, the grounds are the same—that the vocabulary of the two (for it is admitted that the *Troy fragments* and the *Legends* are from a single hand) differs from that of the *Bruce*, that rimes not adopted by the latter occur in the other two, and that in style the poems are far apart. Again the conclusions have been too hasty. The vocabulary of battle-pieces cannot be very similar to that of miraculous saint-legends, and style may well suffer when the poet complains of old age and its infirmities. Themes of romance and chivalry vary greatly from those of the *Legenda Aurea* and other *Legenda Sanctorum* which naturally found place in the Cathedral Library (Reg. Epis. Aberd., ii, 156, 135), yet the resulting differences should not have been allowed to obscure the many topographical allusions tending to locate the translator in the North Country, or to explain away the pointed allusion to his desire to narrate, before all others, the tale of St. Machar, the saint of John Barbour's own cathedral and see. Nor would it have been amiss for the critics to search a little closer than they did for possible touches of resemblance which might be reckoned individual traits.

IV. POET AND TRANSLATOR.

In spite of numerous experiments in criticism, the canons for determining disputed authorship are somewhat empiric. Tests of rime and language are apt to be partial. Where the comparison is between an original work and a translation, the tests are the more difficult, since the translator sinks himself in a measure in the author he is rendering. He writes, too, in shackles, so that his little trespasses beyond the limits of severe adherence to his original are often invaluable as revelations of individuality and

guides to identification. A recurrent phrase characteristic of an original poem showing general affinities with a translation may, if found not only to occur in the translation but to be there intrusive, prove first-class evidence. An example will make this proposition concrete.

When the editor of the *Bruce* very properly commented on the value of book i, lines 521–526, as demonstrative of the author's acquaintance with Guido (Br., pref. p. xlv), it is a pity he did not notice also the additional importance of the next two lines, 527–528:

Br., i, 521. Wes nocht all Troy with tresoune tane
 Quhen ten zeris of the wer wes gane?
 Then slane wes mone thowsand
 Off thaim withowt throw strenth of hand
 As Dares in his buk he wrate
 And Dytis that knew all thare state.

i, 527. *Thai mycht nocht haiff beyn tayne throw mycht*
Bot tresoun tuk thaim throw hyr slycht.

It is true that the first six lines prove that Barbour knew his Guido; but the last two prove that he knew something very intimately of Guido's translator, the author of the *Troy fragments*. The original passage from which these two lines come is not in Dares or in Dictys, but is in Guido, occurring in the course of the argument between Ajax Telamon and Ulysses over the allotment of the Palladium to the share of Ulysses in the division of the spoils of war. Ajax twitted his antagonist by declaring it matter of public gossip that, whereas the Greeks ought to have conquered by force, they had done so only by falsehood and fraud: *ut Trojanos, quos debuimus in potencia nostra devincere, vincerimus per machinacionis fallaciam et per dolum*. The passage is thus rendered in the Scots translation (Troy frag., ii, 1267):—

That the Troyiens, which with mycht
 We ought to have ourcommyne with fycht,
 We ourcome with fraude and gyle,
 And machinacions and wyle.

Something in the rime, something in the contrast, pleased the poet, and elsewhere he used them both.

Troy frag., i, 405. In the science scho had sic slytht
 That throw the science and the myght
 Of hyre exorzigaciouns

[Latin: qui per vires et modos exorzisacionum nigromanticos.]

Troy frag., i, 515. Notht thane throw the strenth and the mycht
 Of hyre enchauntement and hyr slytht.

[Latin: pro sue incantacionis viribus.]

In both these instances the contrast is the poet's. The original has nothing of "slycht," so that the antithesis is intrusive, an idiosyncrasy of the translator, going so far on the way of proof that the lines in the *Bruce* came from Guido by way of the Scots translator. Such a phrase may, for critical purposes in determining authorship, even rank as a distinguishing feature and a test.

Personal Touches.

Reserving this contrast for a later stage as one of a number of typical *media* for purposes of identification, we may note indications in the *Bruce* of the poet's fairness of mind (Br., ii, 40), of his use of romance and song as sources of information (Br., ii, 46; iii, 178), and of his acquaintance with the prophecies of the mysterious Thomas of Ercildoun (ii, 86), and with the story of Fingal (Br., iii, 68), while a spirit of self-depreciation (Br., x, 348) shows an engaging modesty. Yet more valuable is the author's declaration of the time when the *Bruce* was written, and what was its purpose. The date has already been touched upon. For the subject of the poem, even critical eyes have been prone to overlook the express fact that it had a double theme. Just after the first mention of "King Robert off Scotland" and "gud Schyr James off Douglas" the poet declares his aim:

Off THAIM I thynk this buk to ma. (Br., i, 33.)

That the work was for the honour of Douglas scarcely less than of Bruce—the proposition thus announced, that it was a poem with two heroes, as its whole structure shows—was very explicitly recognized by more than one of the fifteenth-century writers (Wyntoun, viii, 3121; Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ii, 301; *The Howlat*, ll. 395, 507, in *Scottish Alliterative Poems*, ed. Amours, Scot. Text Soc.). In Barbour's time the house of Douglas had a powerful and patriotic representative in Archibald the Grim, named in the poem as Schir Archibald (Br., xx, 587).

Familiar, but not the less notable as a personal trait, is Barbour's aspiration after grace that he may say nothing false in his poem:

That I say nocht bot suthfast thing. (Br., i, 35.)

The intimations of the *Legends of the Saints* bearing on the personality of the translator or author consist of (1) a few topographical allusions (xl, 1360–1406; xxvii, beginning); (2) many references to books, the first being *The Romance of the Rose* (Leg. prologue, line 5); and (3) direct allusions to his calling, health, or experiences.

I ma nocht wirk
 As mynistere of haly kirke
 Fore gret eld and febilnes. (Leg. prol., 33.)

Elsewhere he mourns his "falt of sycht" (Leg. prol., 98), and repeatedly refers to other infirmities of age (Leg., iv, 390; vii, 12; x, 585; xxix, 20; xxxvi, 1220). He is guarded about doubtful facts (Leg., vii, 347). His self-disparagement appears, too:

I haf translat
 The story, thocht it be nocht cunnandly
 In all—for royde mane am I—
 In Ynglis townge that lawit mene
 In thare langage ma it kene. (Leg., xviii, 1469.)

He alludes to his travels when a "gunge mane" (Leg., xxv, 1), and his literary tasks suggested to him a curious intrusive reference (Leg., xxxiii, 449) to a martyr stretched on the rack:

As men dois with parchymene.

He refers to a book he made about the birth of Christ (Leg., xxxvi, 991). "Befor uthyre" he was fain to write of St. Machor of Aberdeen (Leg., xxvii, 7). These meagre disclosures practically exhaust the positive autobiography.

Happily there are other things than positive biography to be found. To internal evidences as plain and as trustworthy we shall turn after our glance at the works to be examined shall have surveyed *The Buik of the most noble and vailgeand Conquerour*.

V. THE BUIK OF ALEXANDER, a translation of two French Romances.

Almost unheard of, and certainly not computed in the criticism of Scottish poetry, this swinging romance-poem is known only in the unique print dating about 1580, when it issued from the press of Alexander Arbuthnet, a printer in Edinburgh, who died in 1585 (*Bannatyne Miscellany*, ii, 207). The work thus printed bears a sort of colophon with 1438 as the date of origin, a date, however, regarding which there is a good deal to say. It was reprinted in 1831 by the Bannatyne Club in a very limited edition, and the reprint is now rare.

That this Alexander book should so long have escaped searching scrutiny on present lines is surprising, when its astonishing relation to Barbour's *Bruce* is taken into account. Not that it is without other importance, for it has a value all its own in contemporary literature as a Scottish translation of two French poems in the cycle of the Alexander legend: a vigorous piece of work, in many

respects very original in treatment, and reflecting with no small measure of success the entire spirit of the *Roman d'Alexandre*, or more particularly the *Fuerre de Gadres* and the *Vœux du Paon* from which it was taken. The battle-pieces especially are rendered *con amore*: there the translator was manifestly at home, and excelled his original.

Apart from the actual separate existence of the French poems, which the translator himself refers to more than once (Alex., 107, 441), there are in the structure evidences of dual source. The Scottish poem, which is in rime and in the metre of the *Bruce*, is divided into three parts, the first "callit *The Forray of Gadderis*," the second "callit *The Avowis of Alexander*," the third "*The Great Battell of Effesoun*." The first part opens abruptly, and the translation is made on principles somewhat different from those distinguishing the treatment of the second part, which follows the French with much greater closeness¹ than the first part. The *Roman d'Alexandre* of Lambert li Tors, written in the twelfth century, had, apparently before that century closed, already had incorporated with it *Le Fuerre de Gadres*, an important contribution by Alexander of Paris or Bernay (*Li Romans D'Alexandre*, ed. Michelant, Stuttgart, 1846, p. 249; *Alexandre le Grand dans la Littérature Française*, par Paul Meyer, 1886, ii, 154-161, 227; *La Leggenda di Alessandro Magno*, del Professor Dario Carraroli, Mondovi, 1892, pp. 213-215). This episode of the siege of Tyre had no real connection with the true history of Alexander; scarcely the rudiments of it emerge in the early versions of the Egyptian legend, which so long held captive the beliefs both of East and West regarding the Macedonian conqueror. Later versions of the *Historia de Preliis* seem to have contained the story in some detail; there was a good deal about it in the French of Thomas or Eustace of Kent (Meyer, op. cit., i, 179), and in the alliterative *Wars of Alexander* (ed. Professor Skeat, E.E.T.S., II. 1200-1335); the Hunterian MS. T. 4, 1, from which the latter alliterative poem was probably translated, has lost the folios containing that part of the narrative. That in origin this French story of the Forray was a separate work seems clear (Meyer's *Alexandre*, ii, 154, Carraroli, 213). Very much as in Michelant's edition of the *Roman* it appears in the MS. of

¹ It was a pleasure to hear M. Charles Bonnier, who is now busy at an edition of the *Vœux du Paon*, state that he had compared the French with the Scottish texts, and regarded the latter as generally a very faithful rendering.

Venice (Meyer, i, 281–286), and the variations seem hardly to be radical. Michelant's text leaves much to be desired for critical purposes, and M. Paul Meyer has laboured nobly to supply the deficiencies, but the defects are not such as seriously to affect the questions of the Scottish poem, for line by line of the latter can be followed—with some inversions, but with completeness, save for the translator's own intrusive phrases or expansions—in the text of Michelant. The French version of the Forray section of the Alexander Romance is represented by only an abbreviated rendering into Scottish. Many passages are abridged; not a few are omitted; the sense is sometimes expanded; sometimes the expansions of the French are curtailed; but through and through the Frenchman, line for line, can claim his due from the Scot. In brief, the story is that at the siege of Tyre the knights of Alexander, under the command of the Duke Emenydus—the whole atmosphere of the poem is chivalric, and, as M. Paul Meyer has shown, coloured by reminiscence of the Crusades—make a raid from Tyre to the Valley of “Josaphas,” and drive off a great prey of cattle in spite of attacks made by the keepers, “the hirdis with the swordis of steill.” During the return, however, they are set upon by “thame of Gadderis”—Duke Betyis and his followers, chief of whom is Gadifer, so that the 700 Greeks are assailed by 30,000 “Gaderanis” and put in sore straits. Emenydus asks successive knights to ride to Tyre for help; they refuse, after the manner of romance, to desert the field of danger even for that purpose; but at last a wounded man goes. Alexander hurries to the relief of the detachment, and finally the Gaderanis are driven off after a fine display of valour, in course of which Emenydus is badly injured, and Gadifer is killed in fearless defence of the retreating rear.

The *Fuerre* as embedded in the romance is scarcely a self-dependent work capable of simple detachment; it needs explanations which only its combination with the rest of the romance can adequately afford. Accordingly when, as in the Scots translation, it is ushered into the reader's ken without preliminaries, and is closed without a sequel really belonging to it, the junction, like the introduction, is felt to be far from artistic. Indeed, it is no junction at all, for we part with Alexander busy with the siege of Tyre; and in the second part find ourselves suddenly in the merry month of May marching towards Tars in the expedition which conducts its *dramatis personae* through the *Avowes* to the *Great Battell*. The vows made by

various knights on the peacock shot by Porrus, and their valiant accomplishment in the Great Battell of Alexander at 'Effesoun' against King Clarus of India, make a fine chivalric theme, to which the gay spirit of "Cassamus the ald" and the episodes of the court-ladies add a variety of charm unusual in poems of the class.

The passage about the month of May prefixed to the *Avowes*, and thus forming the introduction to the second part of the Scottish poem, is not to be found in the original French. It is by no means out of the question that the *Avowes* and *Battell* were the primary task—an independent translation of the *Vœux du Paon*—and that the *Forray* was a separate performance, conjoined by an afterthought. At any rate the components of the Alexander book are (1) the *Forray*, completely accounted for by the existing French text of the *Roman d'Alexandre*, edited by Michelant; (2) the introduction about the merry month of May, and the circumstances of the translation, inserted at the beginning of the *Avowes*; (3) the *Avowes* and the *Battell*, representing with considerable faithfulness the *Vœux du Paon*, a poem written by Jacques de Longuyon in the early years of the first decade¹ of the fourteenth century; and (4) a short series of lines at the close apologizing for the insufficiency of the translation, and containing the date 1438, on the value of which grave issues turn. The merry month, too, is a factor not admitting of neglect.

VI. THE MONTH OF MAY.

Observe this description of May standing in the middle of the Scottish poem translated from two combined French romances. Observe how the poet, who throughout writes in the same rime-couplet, with the same octosyllabic metre, the same turns of expression, the same repetitions, the same rimes, and the same tendency to occasional but never systematic alliteration as John Barbour, here, in honour of the merry month, bursts into alliteration—a unique series of twelve lines, all alliterative but one. Only

¹ Occasional citations made by me from the *Vœux du Paon* (which has never been printed) are from two British Museum Harleian MSS., Add. 16,956 and 16,888. I have also cited once or twice the important and beautiful Bodleian MS. 264. Apology is due and is heartily tendered for the inadequacy of collation, but a professional man's leisure is scant. M. Charles Bonnier obligingly communicated to me the fact that the date 1310 or 1312 hitherto received (Ward's Catalogue, i, 146) is incorrect by a few years, as the *Tybaut qui de bar fu nays* referred to at the close of Add. MS. 16,956, fol. 163, was not the Duke of Lorraine, but the Bishop of Liège.

one other instance occurs in the poem of anything like this passage in sustained alliterativeness. That also concerns the merry month. May was a favourite with the medieval muse; its praises wax mechanical in the old romances; and it had found its way into prose as well as verse. Partly from Guido, directly and indirectly, it passed into the introduction of the *Avowes*; partly it came from the *Vœux du Paon*.

Guido, Hunterian MS., T. 4, 1, fol. 115^b.

Tempus erat quo jam sol tauri signum intraverat tunc cum prata virent
vernant flores in arboribus redolentes rubent rose in viridibus rubris earum, et in
dulcibus philomene cantibus dulci modulamine citharizant. Tunc cum esset
mensis ille Maius

Alliterative Destruction of Troy, ed. E.E.T.S.

Lines 12,969-74.

HIT WAS THE MONETH OF MAY WHEN MIRTHES begyn;
The Sun turnit into tauro taried there under:
MEDOS and mountains mynget with FLOURES;
GREVES WEX GRENE & the ground swete,
NIGHTGALIS WITH NOTES NEWIT there songe,
And shene BRIDDES in shawes shriked full lowde.

Lines 2734-8.

IN THE MONETH OF MAY QUHEN MEDOES bene grene
AND ALL FLORISSHET WITH FLOURES þe FILDES aboute
BURJONS of bowes BRETHIT full swete
florisschet full faire; frutes were kuyt
GREVYS were GRENE & the ground HILDE.

Lines 1056-64.

WYNTER AWAY watris were calme,
Stormes were still, the sternes full clere,
Zeforus soft wyndis soberly blew;
Bowes in BRIGHT haltes BURJONT full faire;
GREVYS WEX GRENE and the ground swete
Swoghing of swete ayre swalyng of BRIDDES
MEDOWES and mounteyns myngit with FLOURES
COLORD by course as thair KYND askit:
At MID Aprille the MONE quhen MYRTHES begyn.

Vœux de Paon.

(Add. MS. 16,956, fol. 72^b.)

Ce fu el mois de May qu'yvers va a déclin
Que cil oyseillon gay chantent en leur Latin
Bois et pres ruverdissent contre le douz temps prin
Et nature envoisie par son soutil engin
Les revest et polist de mains divers flourin
Blanc et vert et vermel Ynde jaune et sanguin
A ycel temps

The translator's second lyrical outburst on the merry month contains eleven lines, of which eight are clearly alliterative. The French original has been very freely rendered.

To these two May passages in the *Alexander*, two May passages in *Bruce* correspond in all respects.

[FIRST DESCRIPTION OF MAY.]

Alexander, p. 107, lines 1-12.

Bruce, v, 1-13.

In mery May quhen medis springis,
And foullis in the forestis singis,
And NIGHTINGALIS thare NOTIS NEUIS,
And flouris spredis on seirkin hewes,
Blew and burnat blak and hla
Qubite and gallow rede alsua,
Purpit bloncat pale and pers
As KYND thame COLOURIS gevis divers:
And BURGEONS of thare branchis BREDIS,
And woddis *winnis* thare winful wedis,
And ever ilk Vy hes welth at wail:
Then ga I bundin all in bail.

This WES IN were quhen WYNTIR tyde
With his blastis hydwiss to hyde
Wes ourdriffin, and BIRDIS smale
As thristill and the nichtingale
Begouth rycht meraly to syng,
And for to mak in thair synging
Syndry NOTIS and soundys sere
And melody plesande to here,
And the treis begouth to ma
BURGEONYS and BRYCHT blomys alsua
To vyn the HELING of thair¹ hevede
That wikkit wintir had thame revede
And all grevis begouth to spryng.
Into that tyme . . .

[SECOND DESCRIPTION OF MAY.]

Alexander, p. 248, lines 16-26.

Bruce, xvi, 63-71.

This WAS IN MIDDES THE MONETH OF MAY
Quhen WINTER wedes ar AWAY
And foulis singis of soundis seir
And makes thame MIRTH on thare manere
And GRAVES that gay war WAXIS GRENE
As nature throw his craftis kene
Schrowdis thame self with thare floures
Wele savorand of sere colouris,
Blak blew blude rede alsua
And Inde with uther hewis ma
That tyme fell in the middes of May.

This WES IN THE MONETH OF MAY
Quhen BYRDIS syngis on the spray
Melland thair NOTYS with syndry sowne
For softenes of that sweit sesoune
And lewis on the branchis spredis
And blomys BRYCHT besyd thame BREDIS
AND FELDIS FLORIST ar WITH FLOWRIS
Weill savourit of seir colouris
And all thing worthis blith and gay.

¹ Troy frag., i, 440:

That spoilyt had ine wyntir bene
Throw wickede blastes and felloue schoures
Baith of the lewes and of the floures.

Answering to Guido's "Hyemali eciam impugnacione frondibus arbores spoliatas."
Cf. also Troy frag., ii, 1651.

The first of these two *Bruce* passages has seven alliterative lines out of thirteen; the second has six out of nine. Their relationship to other citations is phenomenal, and demands examination. There are in the *Alexander* only two descriptions of May, both, as shown, remarkable as departing from the normal metre of the poem and systematically—to the extent of seventeen lines out of twenty-three—combining rime and alliteration. Why? The *Bruce* also has only two descriptions of May (that of Ver is truly of May), remarkable as departing from the normal metre, and to the extent of thirteen lines out of twenty-two combining alliteration and rime. Why?

Were the answer not so clear, it might be deemed too adventurous to offer for a century so remote an absolute pronouncement, but facts compel the hazard, if hazard it be called. The reason was because the author of the *Alexander* and the author of the *Bruce* alike knew the alliterative *Destruction of Troy*, probably the work of Huchown of the Awle Ryale, whom there is good reason to regard as Sir Hugh of Eglintoun, an Auditor of Exchequer along with Barbour from 1372 until his death in 1376. Else how comes it that identical alliterations shown below from the descriptions of the month of May in the *Destruction*, reappear in both *Alexander* and *Bruce*?

Moneth of May quhen medoes. Cf. supra, A. 107 (1), 248 (16);

Br., v, 1; xvi, 63.

Greves wex grene. Cf. A. 248 (20).

Nichtgalis with notis newit. Cf. A. 107 (3).

Florisschet with floures þe fildes. Cf. Br., xvi, 69.

Burjons of bowis brethit. Cf. A. 107 (9).

Wynter away. Cf. A. 248 (17).

Colord as kind. Cf. A. 107 (8), 248 (21).

The fifth is curious. “Burgeons of boughs breathed” (=smelt) in the *Destruction* is “burgeons of branches bredis” in the *Alexander*, 107 (9), while “burgeons and blooms” are paired in *Bruce*, v, 10, and on the branches “blooms bredis” in *Bruce*, xvi, 68. In the *Destruction* there are eleven lines specifically descriptive of May: five or more of them lend alliterations for the brief descriptions of May in the *Alexander* and the *Bruce*.

¹ Note also Huchown's archaic words “We” a man appearing as “Vy” in A. 107 (11), supra; Drychtin, A. 431 (7), used alliteratively; raising dragon, Br., ii, 205; (alliterative) *Morte Arthure*, 1252, 2026, 2057. Cf. *Scottish Antiquary*, xii, 147.

The interconnection of the *Alexander* passages with those of the *Bruce* includes verbal relationships, well enough shown above by the italicizing of the phrases common to both and the capitals given to the alliterations suggested by the *Destruction of Troy*. Amongst the former appear the lines—

Wele savorand of sere colouris. A. 248 (23), add A. 159 (23).

Weill savourit of seir colouris. Br., xvi, 70.

Besides, there is the final touch—*that tyme*—a French bequest. What a minute imitator of Barbour this translator of Anno Domini 1438 must have been, to be sure! Not content with drawing upon the *Bruce* for his savour of sundry colours he must have observed the alliterative turn of Barbour's descriptions of May; determined to follow Barbour, and make his corresponding descriptions alliterative, and rather improve on his model, he must have gone, as Barbour did, to Huchown himself—to Huchown, for whose own intimate knowledge of the *Fuerre* and the *Vœux du Paon* a powerful case stands ready to state. An astonishing insight of criticism, a miraculous success of appropriate imitation indeed, if John Barbour died in 1396 and the *Alexander* was really written in 1438!

VII. PROBLEM OF THE DATE OF THE *Alexander*.

Perhaps no two poems in the world's literature more inextricably blend with each other than do the *Alexander* and the *Bruce*. The outstanding characteristics of both are the same. There is a tremendous array of identical lines and phrases. The problem of date is far from being the plain matter of fact which the statement of 1375-6 in the *Bruce* and the colophon of 1438 in the *Alexander* might suggest. Three suggestions are open of varying admissibility:—

First: That the dates 1375-6 for *Bruce* and 1438 for *Alexander* are both right, and that the resemblances between the poems are due to the translator of 1438 having, in rendering the French, used the language of Barbour concerning King Robert to illustrate the romantic career of the Macedonian.

Second: That the date 1375-6, though found both in manuscripts and in early printed editions, as well as corroborated powerfully otherwise, is wrong, and that these resemblances are due to the

Bruce having been rewritten and reconstituted by a scribe late in the fifteenth century, so as to embody in course of his so editing the poem these manifold passages from the *Alexander*.

Third: That the date 1438, resting solely upon the unique sixteenth-century print of the book, is an error; and that the resemblances between the *Alexander* and the *Bruce* are incompatible with separate authorship.

Suggestion the first fails through sheer grotesqueness. To suppose that the writer of a translation of a French poem in any year of any century did his work by utilizing Barbour's *Bruce* as his commonplace book, and weaving into his text, at every turn, locutions copied from the Scottish poem, is beyond the limit of reasonable hypothesis. The theory of copying would necessitate a miraculous power of absorption into the translator's mind¹ of the most inward poetic concepts of the poet of 1375-6—his peculiar technique, his modes of narrative, and his versification, including his distinguishing vices of rime. Besides, it would involve a preference on the part of the translator for the very lines and expressions for which the poet showed his fondness by reiteration.

Suggestion the second would require, I believe, for its due enunciation a round dozen of revolutionary postulates, no two of which can I, for the life of me, hope ever to bring myself to entertain, all persuasions of an old and good friend of mine to the contrary notwithstanding. With a sigh over this inability, I pass to suggestion the third.

My own unhesitating conclusion is, that as the theory of the *Alexander* being copied from the *Bruce* is impossible on account of the extent and integral nature of the common material, so equally is the converse theory. To tear the *Alexander* passages from the *Bruce*, or the *Bruce* passages from the *Alexander*, would equally destroy the fabric of either poem. The resemblances and the extent of them reduce the possibilities to one—viz., that the date 1438 got into the colophon of the single existing print of the *Alexander* through a mere scribal or press error, and that the *Alexander* like the *Bruce* was John Barbour's work.

¹ Dr. Albert Herrmann, in his erudite *Untersuchungen über das schottische Alexanderbuch* (Berlin, 1893), who cites many of the parallels given in the ensuing pages, and others besides, supposes the translator to have had the *Bruce* by heart. It is right to say that this work was not used by me in my own studies, although, through Mr. J. T. T. Brown, with whom, after many days' work, I exchanged lists of parallels, I received no small benefit from Dr. Herrmann's prior diligence in tracking identical passages.

VIII. BANNOCKBURN IN THE *Bruce* AND THE *Alexander*:
A chapter of parallels.

No more convincing method of exhibiting the relations of the two poems can be devised than that of presenting a series of lines from books xi, xii, and xiii of the *Bruce*, side by side with identical or corresponding lines in the *Alexander*. This list is very far from exhausting the resemblances to be found between the three books of the *Bruce* descriptive of the battle of Bannockburn¹ on the one hand, and the *Alexander* with its battle of Effesoun on the other; but it is formidable enough to establish the eminence of the author of one of the poems—if they were by two authors—as the arch-plagiarist of ancient or modern times, even when the looseness of the mediæval canon of plagiarism is considered.

In the undernoted selection, occasional illustrative passages are added from the *Legends of the Saints* and from the *Troy fragments*, with a view of now and then furnishing to the disbelievers in the unity of authorship additional material for the admiration they must naturally feel for the deftness in imitation of language, matter, and style attained by the phenomenal literary workman or workmen who achieved the *Alexander*, and told or retold the tales of Troy and of the Saints. When these instances of minute coincidence between the *Bruce* and the *Alexander* have been digested, the reader, whether he can still hold on to a belief in a duality or trinity of authorship or no, may anticipate the presentment of an equally formidable array of further coincidences between the *Alexander* and the *Bruce*. Meanwhile here follows the chapter of Bannockburn, which first revealed itself to me through the earnest, if sceptical studies of my friend Mr. J. T. T. Brown, to whom in this, as in many other matters literary, I owe much. His first mention to me of these marvellous parallels found me incredulous till I read the *Alexander* for myself.

[PREPARATIONS.]

The Bruce.

The Alexander.

He prysit hym in his hert gretly.
 (xi, 58.)

He praisit him in his hart greatly.
 93 (20).

That we of purpose ger thame fail.
 (xi, 68.)

That we of purpose gar him fail.
 71 (13).

¹ A curious reminiscence is preserved in the inventory of clerical vestments in Aberdeen Cathedral, an item being a hood of cloth of gold, part of the spoil of Bannockburn—"una capella vetus ex auro textili dicta Cherhulink ex spolio conflictus de Bannokburne" (Reg. Episcop. Aberdon., ii, 189).

The Bruce.

Armyt clenly at fut and hand. (xi, 96.)

Armyt on hors bath hede and hand.
(xi, 105.)

(Cf. xix, 412, Armit on hors bath
fut and hand, xix, 412.)

Men mycht se than that had beyn by.
(xi, 126.) (Cf. xii, 544, below.)

Mony ane worthy man and vycht. (xi,
127.)

Quhy suld I mak to lang my tale.
(xi, 135.)

Devisit into battalis sere
His awne battale ordanit he
And quha suld at his bridill be.
(xi, 171.)

Schir Gyls de Argente be set
Vponane half his renge to get. (xi, 174.)
And quhen the kyng apoun this vise
Had ordanit as I heir devise
His battalis and his stering. (xi, 180.)

The Alexander.

Armit weill baith fute and hand.
298 (21).

Armit weill baith fute and hand.
312 (23).

Armit on hors baith fute and hand.
53 (19).

Thare mycht men se that had bene by.
98 (18).

Than nicht thay se that had bene by.
56 (12).

Mony ane worthy man and wicht.
389 (26).

Quby suld I mak to lang my tale.
277 (4).

Quhy suld I tell to lang my taill.
440 (12).

Quhairto sould I mak lang my taill.
417 (4).

Now has the King his battellis all
Devysit aod ordainit all that sall
Be at the brydill of the melle. 349 (14).

Devysit at laser quha sall be
With me into my awin battale.
345 (last line), 346 (first line).
At my brydill with hald the.
346 (seventh line).

My brydill reinges heir I the geif.
348 (10).

Now hes the king his battellis all
Devysit and ordainit. 349 (15).

[ARMS AND BANNERS.]

The sonne wes brycht and schynand
cler

And armys that new burnyst wer
So blenknyt with the sonnys beyme
That all the feld vee in ane leyne
Vith haneris richt freschly flawmand.

(xi, 188.)

(Cf. The sone wes rysyn schynand
briht. vii, 216.

Quhen sone wes rysyn schynand
clere. xiv, 177.

And sone wes ryssyn schynand
brycht. iv, 166.)

The sone schyne cleir on armouris
briht

Quhill all the land lemit on licht.

52 (16).

The sone was rysing and schynit
briht. 219 (4).

The Bruce.

And pensalis to the vynd vaffand. (xi,
193.) (Cf. xi, 512, below.)

and poverale

That gamyt harness and wittale.
(xi, 238.)

And saw thame wilfull to fulfill
His liking with gud hert and will.
(xi, 266.)

And said thame Lordingis now ge se.
(xi, 271.)

(Cf. And said Lordingis now may
ge se, ii, 322.)

He gaf the vaward in leding. (xi, 306.)
(Cf. The vaward for to leid and
steir. xx, 401.)

The tothir battale wes gevin to lede.
(xi, 314.)

His battale stalward was and stout.
(xi, 339.)

(Cf. And he that stalward wes
and stout. vi, 146.)

[MORNING.]

And on the morn on Sattirday. (xi,
352.)

On Sunday than in the mornynge
Weill soyn efter the sonne rising.
(xi, 374.)

(Cf. v, 18. A litill forrow the
evyn gane.)

The Alexander.

The pensale to the wynd waiffand.
3 (20).

[French has—Les langes de l'enseigne
fait à l'vent ballier.—
Michelant, 115 (21).]
the pittall

Kept the wyne and the vittall.
378 (30).

wilfull to fulfill
His avow with gude hart and will.
354 (29).

wilfull to fulfill
His vow with gude hart and will.
372 (12).

Lordingis he said now may ge se.
71 (7).

And said Lordingis now may ge see.
76 (14).

And the first (i.e. the vanguard) gif
I in leding. 311 (25).

The ferd battell to keip and steir.
314 (10).

That Marciane had to leid and steir.
142 (9).

The tother battelle in leding I gif.
342 (12).

Bot he that staluart was and stout.
58 (7).

Tomorrow all hale and (*sic*) Monunday.
337 (25).

Vpone the morne on Monunday.
338 (21).

Apone the morne it wes Sounday.
(Leg., xvii, 199.)

Vpone Tysday in the mornynge. 308
(17).

To morne airly in the morning
Ane lytle forow the sone rysing. 180 (7).
Ans lytill before the sone rysing.
347 (29).

(Cf. Troy, i, 136. To-morne in the
mornynge.

Troy, ii, 722. A litill foroweth
the evynnyng.)

[THE ENGLISH APPROACH.]

The Bruce.

To wyn all or de with honour. (xi, 400.)
 For to manteyme that stalward stour.

(Cf. For to maynteym weill his
 honour. xi, 262.)

And tak the vre that god wald send.
 (xi, 405.)

That nane for dout of dede suld fale.
 (xi, 408.) (Cf. xii, 204, below.)

Qubhill discumfit war the battale. (xi,
 409.)

Qubhilk of thame had of help mister.
 (xi, 452.)

And basnetis weill burnyst bricht,
 That gaf agane the sonne gret licht.
 (xi, 462.)

Thai saw so fele browdyn baneris.
 (xi, 464.)

That the mast host and the stoutest
 Of Crystyndome and ek the best
 Suld be abasit for till se. (xi, 470.)

Gaf all his men reconforting. (xi, 499.)
 Com with thair battalis approchand
 The banneris to the vynd vaffand.
 (xi, 512.)

Cf. With baneris to the vynd vafand.
 (ix, 245.)

With baneris to the vynd displayit.
 (xix, 436.)

Cum on forcuten dreid or aw. (xi,
 555.)

The Alexander.

For to mantene ane stalwart stour.
 45 (7).

For to manteine ane stalwart stour.
 46 (19).

Now cum quhat euer God will send.
 319 (22). Cf. A. 150 (18), 256 (30).

For dout of dede will nane the fale.
 315 (6).

To disconfit the great battale. 417 (31).

Na helpis his freindis yat had mister.
 45 (9).

Hes thou of help great mister git.
 205 (6).

And helmis als and other armin
 That cleirly agane the sone shein.
 26 (28).

He sawe so feill broudin baneris. 26
 (26).

[French has only *tant gonfanon*;
 Michelant, 109 (13).]

The greatest hoist and the stoutest
 Of ony cuntre and the best
 Suld of that sicht abasit be. 27 (2).

(Cf. Troy fr., ii, 503: the grettest
 Of all the oost and the myghtyest.
 Similarly ii, 1413.)

Gevis to us all recomforting. 34 (30).
 He saw the battellis approchand
 With baneris to the wynd waiffand.
 8 (16).

[The banners not in Michelant, 98 (7),
 but see p. 16, above.]

The banare waiffand to the wynd.
 310 (29).

Sa come thai on but dreid or aw.
 10 (29).

[SPURS.]

And strak with spuris the stedis stith,
 That bare thame evyn hard and swith.
 (xi, 558.)

He hint ane spere that was sa styth,
 And straik his steid with spurris
 suyth. 141 (24).

The Bruce.

Cf. With spurys he strak the steid
of priss. (viii, 79.)

And strak with spuris the stede
in hy

And he lansyt furth delyverly.
(iii, 121.)

With that with spuris spedely
Thai strak the horss and in
gret hy. (xx, 457.)

Than with the spuris he strak
his steide. (vi, 226.)

Thai war in gret perplexite. (xi, 619.)

The Alexander.

With spurris he straik the steid of
pryde. 83 (9).

And strengeit with spurris the steid
of pryde. 229 (11).

With spurris he straik him sturdely
And he lansit deliverly. 46 (6).

Cf. And strak the sted with spuris
sa. (Leg. Saints, xxv, 747.)

With spurris he strak his hors smertly.
376 (2).

Be stad in gret perplexite. 30 (19).

[DE BOHUN EPISODE.]

Armyt in armys gude and fyne. (xii,
32.)

And toward him he went in hy. (xii,
39.)

Cf. Then went thai to the King in hy,
And hym salusit full curtasly.
(iv, 508.)

Till him he raid in full gret hy. (xii,
45.)

Cf. And raid till him in full gret
hy. (vi, 135.)

ane dint
That nouthir hat no helme mycht stint.
(xii, 53.)

The hevy dusche that he him gaf,
That he the hed till harnyse claf
The hand-ax-schaft ruschit in twa.

(xii, 55.)

Bot menyth his hand-ax-shaft. (xii, 97.)

Armit in armouris gude and fyne. 46
(27).

And towart him he come in hy. 102
(21).

The king to him is went in hy
And salust him full courtesly. 109 (15).

And towart him raid in full great hy.
40 (1).

sic ane dynt
Bot the helme the straik can stynt.
413 (31).

And with the grete dynt yat he gaif
The sword brak in the hiltis in tua.
50 (9).

The hed unto the shoulderis claif. 58
(11).

Quhill that the hand ax schaft held hale.

Bot sone it brak than was he wa.
232 (14, 16).

[French of this last passage is :

Tant com hache li dure en va sur
aus le pis

Mais le fust est rompu et le fer
est crois

Si qu'à terre li vole enmi les preis
fleuris.

(Harl. MS. Add. 16,956, fol. 65^b.)]

The Bruce.

Thai fled and durst nocht byde no mar.
(xii, 135.)

Cf. That thai durst nane abyde
no mare. (xiv, 299.)

Thai war all helit in-to swat. (xii, 146.)

The Alexander.

Cf. Thai fled fast and durst nocht
byd. (Leg. Saints, xl, 907.)

Be haillit in blude and sneat als.
28 (10).

Thameselfe halit in blude and sueit.
422 (4).

[HEART DISCOMFITURE: JEOPARDY.]

And fra the hart be discumfite,
The body is nocht vorth a myt.
(xii, 187.)

Cf. And fra the hart be discumfyt.
The body is nocht worth
a myt. (iii, 197.)

[Thar hartis undiscumfyt hald. (iii,
274.)]

Ger it [i.e. the hert] all out discumfit
be

Quhill body lifland is all fre. (vii, 358.)

For dout of dede we sall nocht fale.
(xii, 204.) (Cf. xi, 408, above.)

To set stoutnes agane felony. (xii, 261.)

Cf. Agane stoutnes it is aye stout.
(vii, 356.)

And mak swagat ane juperdy. (xii,
262.)

Quharfor I gow requair and pray.
(xii, 263.)

quhair hartis fail: eis
The laif of lymmes lytle vail: eis.
136 (8).

Sic thing as this hes discumfit
Thare hartis all hale. 178 (25).

nocht worth ane myte. 56 (29).
helpit him nocht ane myte. 72 (9).

And suore that nane suld vther fail
For dout of dede in that battaill.
31 (11).

They will nocht fail for dout of dede.
342 (17).

That suld nocht fle for dout of dede.
360 (16).

Stoutnes and strenth encounterit pryde.
80 (15).

Pryde prekan aganis stoutnes. 287 (8).

[Not personified in the French,
which has *orgueilleux contre fier*.
Harl. MS. Add. 16,888, fol. 79.]

And gif ve foly agane foly. 281 (10).

[French has *Musant contre musant*
or musart contre musart. Add.
16,888, fol. 77; 16,956, fol. 84^b.]

And sa gait mak we ane iepardy.
281 (11).

[Not in the French. Add. 16,888,
fol. 77.]

Quharefore I requyre gow and pray.
125 (14).

The Bruce.

To meit thame that first sall assemmyll
So stoutly that the henmast trymmyll.
(xii, 267.)

Cf. For gif the formast egirly
Be met þe sall se suddanly
The henmast sall abasit be.
(viii, 243.)

Hap to vencus the gret battale
Intill your handis forouten faill.
(xii, 273.)

The Alexander.

Seik we the first sa sturdely
That the hindmaist abasit be. 20 (27).
Thair first battell thusgait can semble
Quhair hardy can gar the couartis
trimble. 357 (20).
That formest cumis ge sall se
The hindmest sall abased be. 318 (3).
foroutten faill
That suld vincus the great hattaill.
260 (12).

[BRUCE'S ADDRESS.]

[Bruce's Address.]

And I pray ghow als specially
Both mor and less all comonly
That nane of zow for gredynes
Haf e til tak of thair richness
Na presoners zeit for till ta
Quhill zhe se thame cumrayit swa
That the feld planly ouris be
And than at zour liking may ge
Tak all the richness that thar is.
(xii, 303.)

[Alexander's Address.]

Forthy I pray ilk man that he
Nocht covetous na zarnand be
To tak na riches that they wald
Bot wyn of deidly fais the fald
Fra thay be winuin all wit ge weill
The gudis ar ouris ever ilk deill
And I quyteclame zow vterly
Baith gold and sylver halely
And all the riches that thairis is.
318 (17).

French has :

Et pour Deu hiau seigneurs ne soit
nus entendis
A nul gaaing qui soit ne du leur
convoitis.
Ains conquérons le champ contre nos
ennemis
Quant il sera vaincus li avoires iert
conquis
Et je le vous quit tout et en fais et
en dis
L'onneur en voel avoir le remanant vous
quis. (Add. 16,956, fol. 99.)

[Compare another reading.]

Pour dieu biau dous seigneur ne soiez
convoitis
Dehaur (?) le gaaing ne dupeine ententis
Mais conquerons le champ aus morteus
anemis
Quant le champs iert vaincus li auoires
iert conquis

[*Bruce's Address.*][*Alexander's Address.*]

Et je le vouz quit tout et en fais et
 en dis
 Or et argent et paillez senserez bien
 partis
 Et j'en aurai lonnour cest quant que je
 devis. (Add. 16,888, fol. 91.)

[MORNING.]

*The Bruce.**The Alexander.*

Till on the morn that it wes day.
 (xii, 334.)
 [And on the morn quhen it wes day.
 (xix, 503.)
 Quhill on the morne that it wes day.
 (xix, 404.)
 Quhill on the morn that day was licht.
 (xix, 716.)
 Till on the morn that day was lycht.
 (iv, 158.)
 And on the morn quhen day ves licht.
 (ix, 207.)
 Till on the morn that day wes lycht.
 (v, 114.)
 Till on the morn that day wes lycht.
 (x, 467.)
 And on the morn quhen day ves licht.
 (xiv, 172.) (Cf. xiii, 514.)
 And on the morn quhen it wes day.
 (xix, 752.)]

Apone the morne quhen it was day.
 317 (15).
 Quhill on the morne that it was day.
 351 (13).
 Vpon the morne quhen it was day.
 430 (21).
 Quhil on the morne that day was licht.
 118 (15).
 Quhill on the morne that day was lycht.
 338 (20).
 Cf. And one the morne quhene sowne
 was brycht. (Leg., xxviii, 524.)

Cf. also :

Quhill on the morne that it was
 day. (Troy fr., ii, 1758.)
 Thane on the morne quhene it
 wes day. (Leg. Saints, xiii, 168.)
 And one the morne quhene it was
 day. (Leg. Saints, xxv, 738;
 also xxvi, 469, and xxvii, 1373.)
 Thane one the morne quhene it
 was day. (Leg. Saints, xxvii,
 1599.)

And one the morne quhene it ves
 day. (Leg. Saints, xlvii, 48.)

Quhill on the morn in the morning
 Richt as the day begouth to spring.
 3 (15).

And quhene the day beguth to daw.
 (Leg., xviii, 879.)

Cf. Bot on the morne in the mornying.
 (xiv, 165.)

Cf. in the dawying
 Rycht as the day begouth to spryng.
 (vii, 318.)

[FORTUNE OF WAR.]

Bruce.

For in pungeis is oft hapnyne
 Quhill-for to vyne and quhill to tyne.
 (xii, 373.)

That wer fulfillit of gret bounte. (xii,
 423.) (Cf. xiii, 112, below.)
 Sic a frusching of speris wair
 That fer away men mycht it her.
 (xii, 504.)

Thai dang on othir with wapnys ser.
 (xii, 511.)
 With speris that war scharp to scher
 And axis that weill grundin wer.
 (xii, 519.)
 Cf. Ane hachit that war scharp to
 scher. (x, 174.)

Throw fors wes fellit in that ficht.
 (xii, 524.)
 Set in-till herd proplexite. (xii, 530.)
 (Cf. above, xi, 619.)

Alexander.

It fallis in weir quhilis to tyne
 And for to wyn ane uthir syne.
 244 (10).

[French has *Une fois gaaigne l'en
 et l'autrefois per[t]-on.* (Add.
 16,888, fol. 63^b.)]

That was fulfillit of all bounte. 297
 (3).
 Sic strakes they gave that men nicht
 here
 Full far away the noyes and bere
 The speiris all to-frushit thare.
 286 (10).

Dang on vthir with wapnis seir. 415
 (9).

sperere
 Or hand ax that was scharp to scheir.
 353 (10).

Or hand ax that was sharpe to shere.
 382 (27).

Hissperere was schairp and weill scherand.
 42 (12).

Cf. That sall be scharp and rycht
 weill grondine. (Leg. Saints,
 l. 855.)

Throw fors was fellit in the fecht.
 227 (6).

Be stad in gret perplexite. 30 (19).
 (Cf. xi, 126, above.)

[THE NOISE OF BATTLE.]

Quhill men mycht her that had beyn by
 A gret frusche of the speres that brast.
 (xii, 544.)

Cf. Quhar men mycht her sic a
 brekyng
 Of speris that to fruschynt war.
 (viii, 302.)
 Men mycht haiff sene quha had
 bene thar. (iii, 346.)
 Men mycht haf seyn quha had
 beyn thair. (viii, 378.)

men nicht here
 Full far away the noyes and here
 The sperris all to frushit thare.
 286 (10).

men nicht here
 Great noyes and din quha had been neir.
 117 (32), 118 (1).
 That mycht bene hard quha had bene
 by. (Leg. Saints, l. 38.)
 Quha had bene thare nicht have sene
 neir. 65 (11).

The Bruce.

And mony gud man fellit under feit
 That had no power to riss zeit.
 (xii, 554.) (Cf. xii, 525.)
 And mony a riall rymmyll ryde. (xii,
 557.)

Quhill throu the hyrneis brist the
 blud
 That till the erd doune stremand gud.
 (xii, 559.)

In myd the visage met thame thar.
 (xii, 576.)

The Alexander.

That had na power to rise git. 56 (19).
 Cf. 410 (23).

Quhare mony ane rummill rude was
 eet. 226 (9).

rymbill ryde. 225 (18).

rimmill ryde. 362 (2).

ruid rummill. 57 (2).

in blude

That stremand fra his woundis gude.
 67 (5).

wox red

That stremand fra thare wondis ged.
 385 (21).

the blude

That streymand to yare sadillis geid.
 95 (1).

Cf. Troy frag., ii, 823: hys bloode

That streymande out hys body
 yhoode.

[Cf. rime of gud, blud. (Leg. xx,
 193.)]

In middes the visage met thame thare.
 410 (17).

In middes the visage met thame weill.
 4 (28).

[THE STALWART STOUR.]

Thar men mycht se ane stalwart stour.
 (xii, 577.)

The gyirse wox with the blude all red.
 (xii, 582.)

That thai euld do thair devour wele.
 (xii, 587.)

For with wapnys staluart of steill
 Thai dang on thame with all thar
 mycht.

 (xiii, 14.) (Cf. xiii, 274, helow.)

And vapnys apon armour etynt. (xiii,
 27.)

As vapnys apon armor styntis. (xiii,
 154.)

Thair men nicht sie ane stalwart stour.
 34 (5).

The grene gras vox of blude all rede.
 382 (17).

Baith erd and gers of blude vox red.
 385 (20).

And sicker to do his devore weill.
 321 (23).

Bot with wapons staluart of steill
 Thay dang on vther with all thair
 nicht. 80 (18).

Of wapnis that on helmis styntis.
 366 (5).

The Bruce.

Defoulit roydly vnder feit. (xiii, 31.)
 Cf. Wndyr horss feyt defoulyt thar.
 (ii, 359.)

That men na noyis na cry mycht her.
 (xiii, 34.)
 That slew fire as men dois on flyntis.
 (xiii, 36.)

Quhen that he saw the battalis swa
 Assemyll and togiddir ga. (xiii, 63.)

The Alexander.

Wndir feit defoulit in the battale.
 366 (1).

Defoulit with feit. 144 (29).
 Vnder hors feit defoulit ware. 401 (29).
 Wnder hors fute defoullit sa. 86 (6).
 Thar men nicht heir sic noyes and cry.
 385 (22). Cf. 46 (2).

That kest fyre as man dois flyntis.
 236 (25).

[Not in the French. Add. 16,888,
 fol. 60^b.]

Cf. Togidder thay straik as fyre of
 flint. 243 (32).

[French has *comme garçon*.]

Quhan he the rinkis saw shudder sua.
 45 (32).

And the hattellis togidder ga. 46 (1).

[THE PURSUIT.]

And slew all that thai mycht ourta.
 (xiii, 93.)

sla

The men that thai mycht ourta.
 (xvii, 100.)

Cf. And slew all that thai mycht
 ourtak. (iv, 415.)

And slew all that thai mycht
 ourtak. (v, 95.)

And slew all thaim thai mycht
 ourta. (xviii, 325.)

And slew all at thai mycht ourta.
 (x, 78.)

That he slew all he might ourtak.
 (xvi, 197*.)

And agane armyt men to ficht
 May nakit men haff litill mycht.
 (xiii, 97.)

And ding on `them sa doughtely.
 (xiii, 132*.)

Cf. And dang on thame so douchtely.
 (x, 727.)

And dang on thame so hardely.
 (xvi, 204.)

He slew all that he nicht ouerta.
 379 (21).

That he ourtuke all doun he drave.
 410 (6).

Al that it ourtuk wald sla. (Leg.,
 xxxiii, 71.)

naked,
 They sall nouthur hardement have nor
 mycht

Aganis armit men to ficht. 362 (20).
 And dang on vther sa egerly. 412 (4).

The Bruce.

And cryit ensenzeis on everilk syd,
Gifand and takand woundis wyd.
(xiii, 159.)

Cf. Giffand and takand voundis
vyde. (xv, 54.)

Gyffand and takand voundis vyde.
(vi, 288.)

And magre thairis left the plass.
(xiii, 170.)

Than men mycht heir ensenzeis cry.
(xiii, 203.)

Cf. His ensenghe mycht heir him
cry. (v, 323.)

with thame faucht
And swa gret rowtis to thame raucht.
(xiii, 211.)

ghemen swanys and poveraill
That in the parc to gheyme vittale.
(xiii, 229.)

Dang on thame sua with all thar mycht.
(xiii, 274.)

That thai scalit in tropellis. ser.
(xiii, 275.)

For twa contraris zhe may wit wele
Set agane othir on a quhele.
(xiii, 651.)

And the laif syne that ded war thar
In-to gret pittes erdit war. (xiii, 665.)

The Alexander.

Thay cryit thair ensenzies on ilk syde.
412 (28).

Gevand and takand woundis wyde.
222 (8).

Gevand and takand routis ryde. 362 (7).

That maugre yairis yai left the place.
36 (12).

That maugre thairis thay left the pray.
423 (14).

In maugre of thairis reskewit the pray.
4 (7).

And his ensigne that thai hard cry.
52 (20).

faucht
And with his sword sic routis raucht.
154 (28).

(Cf. xi, 238, above.)

(Cf. xiii, 14, above.)

And scallit in troppellis heir and thair.
227 (14).

Cf. And thir quelis seit sall be swa
That of thame twa aganis twa
Sal alwayis turne in contrare
cours. (Leg. Saints, l. 857.)

The laif in pittis eardit thay. 427 (17).

IX. THE LESSON OF THE PARALLELS.

In this long list of parallels, what are the passages thus held in common by two poems so far removed from each other in theme? On what principle are they selected? Are they French, originally in the *Alexander* romance and transferred to the Scottish poem? Or are they Scottish pebbles strewn through both poems, and not due to direct translation or imitation? If there was imitation, which is the imitation, the *Alexander* or the *Bruce*? In short, do means exist for determining with assurance that the poet of the

Bruce used the translation of the *Alexander*, or that the translator used the *Bruce*? Once more, what are the passages?

They are, in very singular proportion, passages which occur more than once in the *Bruce* and more than once in the *Alexander*. This pregnant fact seen, is not the riddle read already? Thieves are not wont to steal the same thing twice. No plagiarist would be so inartistic as to repeat his plagiarism of the same passages three, four, or five times over. On the other hand, the man who is both poet and translator may well, when his themes in both capacities are cognate, repeat himself, whether he is at work upon his translation or upon an effort entirely his own.

Let us consider the oft repeated descriptions of morning (pp. 17, 22, above). It might be urged that these variants are mere common form. The rejoinder is that, even granting something of common form, such recurrences of identical lines cannot be accidental; and commonplaceness sometimes amounting to triviality stamps as ridiculous the conception of such verbal exactitude being due to deliberate copying. Such things come not through one author being influenced by the phrases of another; they come through one man using his own stock-in-trade and borrowing from himself.

But if this repetition of things comparatively commonplace is characteristic of *The Bruce* displaying again and again the same turns of expression, if it is at the same time the mark of the *Legends* and of the *Alexander*, if some examples are common to all three and to the *Troy fragments*, such repetition is no less telling when it implies the reappearance of peculiar and even anomalous or uncouth locutions. Ample enough is the list of examples. Was John Barbour, or was the translator of the *Alexander*, so much the slave of his copy that when he asked, "Quhy suld I mak to lang my tale?" he made the query word for word as in the *Alexander*? When the translator made Emenydus begin an address to his fellows, "Lordingis, now may ge sie," did he copy from the opening of one of Bruce's addresses in these precise terms? How comes it that at Bannockburn we hear of the overthrown "That had na power to rise git," while in the *Alexander* their plight is described in perfectly identical terms? Surely it is fatuity to ascribe such a line to imitation. A bard must indeed have been in sore straits if he copied that!

The lessons and surprises of Bannockburn are many. The banners to the wind waving in Barbour's fine description of the English march waved only less gaily in the romance of *Alexander*.

In the De Bohun episode the breaking of Bruce's battle-axe has a somewhat uncomfortable parallel in the *Alexander*. It is an unquestionable certainty that the address which Barbour puts into the mouth of Robert Bruce¹ on the great day of national crisis is borrowed from a speech imputed in the French romance to Alexander the Great.

Tempting as it is to linger over Bannockburn, and needful as it is to examine the bearing of the *Alexander* romance on the authenticity of the biography of the Scottish monarch, the theme must be left with a single remark to record the opinion that whilst Barbour was in his description of the battle profoundly influenced by the romance—whether the translation or the French, is a problem not to be disposed of in a parenthesis—his borrowings were not directly of matter (except speeches), but of style, pictorial narrative, and descriptive phrases. The French influence is mainly to be traced not in the tale but in the manner of telling.

X. SOME SPECIAL COINCIDENCES.

A second long list of parallels may stand over, giving place meantime to a discussion of a few special words or lines which no one will characterize as commonplaces and which bear peculiarly on the evidence of authorship.

To-ga.

This word, regarded by Professor Skeat as representing the past tense of the Anglo-Saxon verb *togan*, to go, is commented upon by him as an anomalous form. It occurs, however, as *to-go* in Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (ed. Morley, p. 423), but being anomalous and exceedingly rare its appearance in the following cases must count accordingly as very special indeed. In the *Troy fragments* there is a phrase translating into the very opposite meaning the words *effugere non valerent* in Guido. In every sense it is intrusive and not real translation in respect that while the inversion of meaning is doubtless an accident, the idiom is not Latin and does not bring *to-go* or *to-ga* at all into the connection naturally.

Thai tornede thare bakis and to-go. (Troy fr., ii, 2231.)²

¹ For an older and quite different version see that of Abbat Bernard of Arbroath, Bower, ii, 249; Scottish Antiquary (1899), xiv, 29.

² The riming line is "And he gan many of them slo," showing sufficiently that the words may be read *to-ga* and *slo* with equal propriety, such variations being commonly scribal.

The *Alexander* similarly, in a phrase which is not a translation of the French corresponding line, has:

Turnit thair brydillis and to-ga. A. 87 (18).

The French in Michelant has a quite different proposition:

Au plus tos que il porent tornent vers lors règne. Michelant, 171 (4).

Again, the *Alexander* has:

He turnit his brydill and he to-ga. A. 218 (4).

In this case the translation answers fairly enough to the French (Add. 16,888, fol. 51):

A tant tire son frain c'est arriere torne,

although the *to-ga* is still exegetical. Now it is true that there is a verbal difference between the form of the line in the *Troy* and in the *Alexander*. The one says *bridle*, the other says *back*. We turn to *Bruce* for both.

Thai gaf the bak all and to-ga. (Br., xvii, 575.)

Thai turnit thar bak all and to-ga. (Br., ix, 263.)

He turnit his bridill and to-ga. (Br., viii, 351.)

The hand which thrust in this phrase in two shapes into three separate translations of one Latin and two French works, combined them when engaged upon an independent task.

Micht, slicht.

At an earlier stage use was made of this rime and phrase to show that Barbour in the *Bruce* was citing the *Troy fragments*, and that the phrase in the fragment was more than once intrusive. Now falls to be illustrated the extent to which the contrast of 'might' and 'slight' couched in this particular rime is woven into the texture of Barbour. Though not so marked in the *Alexander* as in the *Troy*, the *Bruce*, and the *Legends*, there is at least one parallel of a very complete sort in the *Alexander* interconnecting with the many parallels from the other books.

Throw slycht that he ne mycht throw
maistri. (Br., i, 112)

[A verse quoted by Wyntoun, bk.
viii, ch. 2, line 200.]

Schapis thaim to do with slycht
That at thai drede to do with mycht.
(Br., ii, 324.)

And ourcumyne for all his mycht
Forthi with wilis did he and slycht.

(Leg., xxxiii, 589.)

[Latin has *blanditiis quem minis
superare non poterat.*]

That thai mycht nocht do he mycht
Thai schupe thame for to do be slycht.
(Leg., xl, 829.)

[As to this further see *Scottish
Antiquary*, xi, 105-7.]

Suld set thar etlyng evirmar
To stand agayne thar fayis mycht
Umquhile with strenth and quhile with
slycht. (Br., iii, 260.)

And sen we may nocht deill wyth mycht
Help vs that we may vyth slycht.

(Br., vii, 13.)

Throu sumkyn slicht for he vist weill
That no strenth mycht it planly get.
(Br., x, 519.)

And how the toun was hard to ta
With oppyn assale be strinth or mycht
Tharfor he thought to virk with slicht.
(Br., ix, 350.)

But umbethocht him of a slicht. (Br.,
xvi, 84.)

Compare also mycht-slycht rimes:
Br., iv, 755; v, 269; viii, 505;
ix, 654; x, 334.

Bot set in intent baith strenth and mycht
With all his thoct and all his slycht.
A. 408 (15).

French has:

Ains met entente et force et pooir
Cuer pensee et savoir et engin.
(MS. 264, Bodley, 159.)

And sene he mycht nocht be mycht
Ourecome Cristofore thane be slycht.
(Leg., xix, 441.) [An intrusion.]

For thu has suorne of my oste be the
mycht
That thu sal nothire for strinth na slicht.
(Leg., xxxii, 569.)

[Chiefly intrusion—per virtutes mei
exercitus—both mycht and slycht
are evolved from *virtutes*.]

And umbethocht hyme how he myght
By ony coloure or by slyght.
(Troy, ii, 1467.)

Leg., iv, 41; xxxiv, 77; l. 221, 511:
all clear intrusions. Also x, 207;
xviii, 1273; xxvii, 663, 1199; xxx,
5, 701; xxxi, 589; xxxii, 461; xli,
207; l. 397, 425.

The Number Ten.

Odd indeed is the history of this number in the various works now undergoing comparison. Apart from numerous instances in which the translation is true, there are in the *Troy*, *Alexander*, and *Legends* alike, passages where the number is intruded, sometimes rather ludicrously, as where *quatuor paria* multiply into ten.

Ten.

Thay of Gaderis war ten tymes ma.
A., 65 (16).

Thair sould nocht ten have gane away.
A., 71 (30).

That ay aganes ane war ten. A.,
140 (5).

[Intrusion—French has only *la grant*
gent Dairon. 264, Bodley, 117.]

Intrusion—Cil de Gadres les outrent.
Michelant, 150 (3).

Intrusion — n'en fust gaires estors.
Michelant, 154 (6).

And heirin als is nyne or ten. A.,
273 (13).

[Intrusion—French has *vii ou viii*
des plus preus. 264, Bodley,
fol. 138.]

And ma than ten or he wald rest.
A., 361 (25).

That weill x thousand war and mair.
A., 369 (23).

[Not in the French. Add. 16,888,
fol. 112.]

Micht he ay ane aganes ten. A.,
405 (4).

[In the French “Un homme contre
x.”]

And with thame als nyne or ten. A.,
422 (8).

For of twenty ten ar slane. A.,
380 (20).

[In the French “Qui de nous xx
avés ja les x demembres.”]

That quha sa micht in ten partis
Deal the worship that in gow is
Men micht mak ten worthy and wicht.
A., 258 (26).

Thane tuk thai tene oxine wicht.
(Leg., xxxiii, 307.)

And fell doune tene steppis but frist.
(Troy frag., ii, 2491.)

Compare same reference to Judas
Maccabeus in Br., xiv, 316 :
Quhill he hade ane aganis ten.
Also Br., xii, 565 : Ay ten for
ane or may perfay.

Intrusion—Quatuor paria boum.

Intrusion—de gradihus ipsis per quos
descendebatur.

Tenth part.

The teynd part mene suld nocht treu.
(Leg., xl, 788.)

For I can nocht the teynd part tell.
(Leg., xxvii, 1249.)

Palace tend parte so fare to see.
[Intrusion.] (Leg., vi, 274.)

Can nane the teynd tel of disces.
(Leg., xviii, 1167.)

That mene lest nocht the teynde to here.
[Intrusion.] (Troy frag., i, 475.)

Bot nocht the tend part his traving.
(Br., ix, 495.)

na mane
The teynd of it tel cane.
(Leg., xxvi, 1162.)

Down to earth.

That to the erth he maid him go. (Troy fr., ii, 2972.)

That to the ground he gart him go. A., 74 (8).

And to the erd he gart him ga. A., 390 (25).

And he down to the erd can ga. A., 411 (6).

And he down to the erd can ga. (Br., vii, 585.)

*Some French words.**Rebours.*

All is at rebours. A., 124 (19).
[Sole instance.]

Held all at rebours. (Br., xiii, 486.)
[Sole instance.]

Vailge.

Vailge quod vailge. A., 140 (24); Avalge que valge. (Br., ix, 147.)
218 (30); 267 (28).
Vailge que vailge. A., 308 (21).

Liege pouste.

There is scarcely a tincture of law in the entire series of the books now dealt with. The more interest attaches to *liege pouste*, a phrase which, found in the English law of Bracton's time, ultimately came to be particularly associated with the Scots law of deathbed, being equated with the capacity of going to kirk and market after the last will was made.

For gif I leif in liege pouste
Thow sall of him weill vengit be.
A., 190 (13).

Bot and I lif in lege pouste
Thair ded sall rychtw eill vengit be.
(Br., v, 165.)

[Not in the French.]

Gif I leif lang in liege pouste. A.,
189 (2).

Repeated, A., 361 (11).

[French has: "Mais se je vich vij
jors en vive poeste." 264, Bodley,
fol. 125.]

By Heaven's King.

This manner of swearing by the Deity is one of the many ways in which the translator went beyond what he found in his French. One example deserves enshrinement among the curiosities of oaths, making Porrus, addressing the Almighty, take his name in vain at the same time. In this the *Bruce* runs it hard.

"Deir God," said he; "be hevinnis
king." A., 355 (25).

Dear God that is of hevyn king.
(Br., ii, 144.)

[The French has simply "Diex!"
Add. 16,888, fol. 106.]

For be him that is hevennis king.
A., 18 (31).

[French has no expletive at all.
Michelant, 104 (30). Cf. also
A., 18 (16, 31). Both cases of
this oath not in Michelant, 104.]

These rather fine examples of congested oaths force the conclusion that Barbour and the translator swore poetically in the same terms, an inference to which the frequency of this epithet, "king of heaven," in the *Legends* adds all natural confirmation.

Other references besides prove community of characteristics.

God help us that is mast of mycht. (Br., xii, 324.)	Now help God for his mekyll mycht. A., 340 (26).
Quhar our Lord for his mekill mycht. (Br., xx, 475.)	
The grace of God that all thing steres. (Br., xi, 27)	A ! God that al has for to steir. (Leg., xxi, 279.)
	His ferme hope in hym setand That has to stere bath se and land. (Leg., xxvii, 481.)
	Of Jesu Criste that al can stere. (Leg., xi, 151.)
	Granttit wele that thar was ane That all thinge steryt—ellis nane. (Leg., l. 435.)
And lovit God fast of his grace. (Br., xiv, 311.)	Lowyt fast God of his hounte. (Leg., xxv, 471.)
A ! Deir God ! Quha had beyn hy And seyn how he sa hardely. (Br., vi, 171.)	Der God ! how Alexander sa douchtely. A., 387 (22).
	A ! Deir God ! how he was douchty. A., 43 (11).

Leech and medicine.

There is a medical expression which, taken from the French in one case, is intruded or expanded in others, and becomes a metaphor.

That sall neid as I trow lechyng. (Br., xiii, 46.)	Thai sall neid I wis leching. A., 42 (15). [French has not this. Michelant, 132 (25).]
	Thare nedit na leche on thame to luke. A., 366 (12).
	He hes na mister of medecyne. A., 393 (3). [French has this— <i>ne na mestier de mire</i> . Add. 16,888, fol. 123.]
Thair host has maid me haill and fer For suld no medicine so soyne Haff couerit me as thai haf done. (Br., ix, 231.)	He that heir cummis I underta With ane sweit medecyne sall now Mak quyk of that that grevis gow. A., 43 (27). [French has only <i>cil vus gari de mort</i> . Michelant, 133 (12).]

It will be noted that the last example from the *Bruce* is at a point which touches history, being a record of words said to have been spoken by Robert the Bruce. We know, however, that the speeches of mediaeval kings are usually creations of the historians.

Hardy of heart and hand.

Professor Skeat cited the absence of this 'mannerism' from the *Troy fragments* (*Bruce*, i, pref., p. 1) as a ground for disputing their authorship by Barbour. We may be entirely content to have it in the *Alexander* and the *Legends*.

That hardy wes off hart and hand. (Br., i, 28.)	And hardy als of hart and hand. A., 175 (28).
A knycht hardy of hert and hand. (Br., xi, 571.)	And hardy vas of hart and hand. (Leg., xl, 819.)
That hardyest was of hert and hand. (Br., xvi, 234.)	

Adam.

A reference to Adam is (a) translated from the French, (b) thrust into the translation from the French, and (c) thrust into a translation from the Latin.

Sen first that God Adame wrocht. A., 395 (23). [Apparently not in the French.]	Sene first he made Adame of clay. (Leg., xxxii, 534.) [Not in the Latin.]
For sen that God first Adam wrocht. A., 402 (14). [French has <i>Ce puisque Diez ot fait</i> <i>Adam a son plaisir.</i>]	

Anger and joy.

Sentiments so opposite do not naturally utter themselves in the same formula. Throughout the four works all now claimed as Barbour's one formula serves.

Richt angry in his hert he was. (Br., iii, 64.)	Full odyous in hys hert he was. (Troy fr., ii, 1460.)
That in his hert gret angyr hes. (Br., viii, 16.)	And in his hart gret anger hes. A., 24 (15). [Intrusion.]
	Into hir hart great anger hes. A., 431 (19).
Intill his hert had gret liking. (Br., xiv, 17.)	And in his hart great lyking hes. A., 338 (14).
And in his hart gret joy he maid. (Leg., xxvii, 468.)	In his hart wonder glaid was he. A., 245 (20).

	Great glaidship in hart he hes. A., 345 (30).
Sic sorow ine his hart has tane. (Leg., xxxiii, 760.)	Sic anger was at his hart I wis. A., 386 (3).
Sic yre in his harte he had. (Leg., vii, 622.)	
In harte thai had sike wgrines. (Leg., vii, 716.)	

So the same form of words was made to attain perfectly contrary purposes. Such a thing' is no freak of chance. It merely shows the flexibility of a phrase in one man's hand.

XI. A SECOND CHAPTER OF PARALLELS.

It is now time to insert without comments another batch of parallels, in this case putting the *Alexander* lines in the first column.

[THE FORRAY OPENS.]

The Alexander.

Now rydis the furreouris thair way
Richt stoutly and in gude array. 2 (25).
Tursit thair harnes halely. 3 (11).
His men to him he can rely. 4 (4).
All in ane sop assemblit ar. 4 (16).
Ferrand he straik with spurris in hy.
4 (22).
That nouthir noyis nor crying maid.
3 (14).
Cf. Thare begouth the noyes and
cry. 395 (20).
And straik the first so rigorusly. 4
(25).
And with his sword that scharply
share. 5 (20).
The sword he swappit out in hy. 5
(29).

The Bruce.

Now gais the nobill kyng his way
Richt stoutly and in gude array. (viii, 272.)
Thai tursit thair harness halely. (ix,
360.)
His men till him he can rely. (iii, 34.)
His men till him he can rely. (iv,
426.)
Syne in a sop assemblit ar. (vii, 567.)
See pp. 18, 19.
That thai maid nouthir noyis no cry.
(xiii, 38.)
The noyis begouth soyne and the cry.
(v, 577.)
The noyis begouth than and the cry.
(viii, 308.)
And smat the first so rigorusly. (vii,
449.)
He smat the first sa rygorusly. (vi,
136.)
That with his swerd that scharply
schare. (vi, 643.)
in hy
Swappyt owt swerdys sturdely.
(ii, 362.)

[HEAD-CLEAVING.]

The Alexander.

And Lyonell with all his maucht.
 Wpon the hede ane rout him raucht
 That to the schoulderis he him clave
 And dede doun to the erd him draif.
 6 (3).

Cf. Pirrus him smot with all his
 maucht

And ea rude ane rout hes him
 raucht. 46 (30).

Manlyke as men of mekill maucht.
 287 (19).

Porrus that had his sword on hicht
 Him raucht a rout with in randoun
 richt

That of the helm the cirkill he clave.
 400 (22).

Cf. also, 361 (4), 154 (28).

Than to his menȝe can he say. 7 (8).

Aganis men samekill of nicht. 8 (19).

And thay that wourthy ar and wicht.
 9 (31).

with thair baneris

And ensigneis on seir maneris. 10 (26).

Lat God wirk syne quhat ever he will.
 11 (25).

Cf. To leif or die quhidder God
 will send. 21 (2).

Outher leif or dee quhether God
 will send. 256 (30).

Now cum quhat euer God will
 send. 319 (23).

I war mar tratour than Judas. 12 (8).

The Bruce.

And to Philip sic rout he raucht
 That thought he wes of mekill maucht.
 (ii, 420.)

And swa gret rowtis till him raucht
 That had nocht beyn his mekill maucht.
 (xix, 587.)

Bot he that had his suerd on hicht
 Raucht him sic rout in randoun richt
 Richt he the hede to harniss clafe
 And him doun ded to the erd drafe.
 (v, 631.)

And till his menȝe can he say. (xv,
 471.)

Agane folk of sa mekill mycht.
 (xviii, 62.)

And thai that worthy war and wicht.
 (xix, 786.)

bricht baneris

And hors hewit in seir maneris.
 (viii, 229.)

And tak the vre that God wald send.
 (i, 312.)

Syne fall quhat evir that God vill send.
 (ix, 32.)

to tak the vre

That God will send. (ix, 68.)

Cf. p. 18.

Throw a discipill off Judas
 Maknab a fals tratour that ay
 Wes of his duelling nicht and day.
 (iv, 18.)

Cf. Ine stad of the tratour Judas.
 (Leg., xii, 4.)

For that wekit tratore Judas
 Familiare to Jhesu wes. (Leg.,
 vii, 29.)

He wes fulfillit of all bunte. (x, 294.)

Ze ar sa full of grete bounte. 12 (31).
 That is fulfillit of all bounte. 166 (24).
 That is fulfillit of all bounte. 344 (6).

[THE KING'S MENSE.]

The Alexander.

Mantene the kingis mense that day.
18 (8).

That we hald of all our halding. 19
(19).

Of his great worship and bountie. 20
(7).

Cf. For the great worship and
bountie. 240 (2).

His worship and his great
bountie. 102 (32).

For multitude in fecht oft failþeis.
20 (25).

Quha for his lord dois (deis?) he sall
be

Harhreid with Angellis gle. 21 (16).

Cf. And syne in hewine herbryt be.
(Leg., xxv, 780.)

The Kingis freindis sall today
Be knawen in this hard assay
Quha lufis his honour he sall be
Renowned in this great mellie.

21 (14).

The Bruce.

Quha lufis the kyngis mensk to-day.
(xvi, 61.)

That he held of all his halding. (xix,
66.)

Of thair worschip and gret bounte.
(xvi, 530.)

Of gret worschip and of bounte. (xii,
380.)

For multitude mais na victory. (ii,
330.)

That he that deis (dois *alternative
version*) for his cuntre

Sall herbryit intill hewyn be. (ii, 340.)

For hewynnis bliss suld be thair meid
Gif that thai deit in Goddis serviss.

(xx, 414.)

In joy solase and angell gle. (xx,
262.)

Cf. In gret joy and angel gle.
(Leg., xxxv, 254.)

Hee brocht in hewyne with
angel gle. (Leg., xvii, 151.)

Now dois weill for men sall se

Quha lufis the kyngis mensk to-day!
(xvi, 621.)

[INCIDENTS AND PERSONAL DESCRIPTIONS.]

And syne lap on deliverly. 60 (13).

Cf. Thai lap on hors delyverly. 238
(11).

Cf. p. 41.

And quhen he saw his point that tyde.
75 (15).

Cf. And quhen that he his point culd
sie. 45 (14).

And he lansit delyverly. 79 (26).

With that in hy to him turnit he. 89
(15).

And lap on hym delyverly. (ii, 142)

For quhen that he his poynt mycht se.
(vii, 388.)

And he lansyt furth delyverly. (iii, 122.)

With that in hy to him callyt he. (iii,
331.)

The Alexander.

Quhill in his arsoun dintit he. 99 (18).

To him I mak na man compair. 110 (9).

He was baith stith stark and strang,

Weill maid with lymmes fare and lang. 117 (18).

Cf. Of all schaip was he richt wele maid

With armys large and schoulderis braid. 42 (2).

Thair sall nane that is borne of wyfe. 138 (9).

better than he

Micht never of woman borne be.

423 (19).

Saw never git na wyfis sone. 435 (8).

And with ane spere that sharpely share Mony down to the erd he bare.

144 (26).

Ane renk about him hes he made. 145 (8).

Repeated 231 (20).

Thame worthis assale and thame defend. 150 (17).

Thare worthit us defend or assale. 186 (31).

Outhir to assaill or to defend. 244 (23).

Quha ever defend quha euer assail. 259 (19).

He hit quhill he lay top our tale. 285 (25).

Cf. That top our tail he gart him ly. 72 (8).

[Intrusion in translation.]

At the get quhare the barris hewin. 180 (25).

With fare visage and sume dele rede. 191 (17).

Quhill he umbethocht him at the last And in his hart cleirly can cast.

193 (29).

The Bruce.

That he dynnyt on his arsoun. (xvi, 131.)

Till Ector dar I nane comper. (i, 403.)

Bot of lymmys he wes weill maid

With banys gret and schuldrys braid. (i, 385.)

Cf. Fore Johnne of wemane best barne wes. (Leg., xxxvi, 182.)

With his spere that richt sharply schare Till he down to the erd him bare.

(vi, 137.)

And rowme about thame haf thai maid. (xx, 460.)

That ay about hym rowme he maid. (xvi, 196.)

Gif thai assalje we mon defend. (ix, 30.)

And sum defend and sum assale. (xii, 556.)

Oft till defende and oft assale. (vi, 330.)

For to defend or till assale. (viii, 283.)

[*Repeated* xvii, 242.]

Till defend gif men vald assaill. (xvii, 260.)

Till top our tail he gert him ly. (vii, 455.)

At Mary-get to hewyn had the barras. (xvii, 755.)

In wysage wes he sumdeill gray. (i, 383.)

Till he umbethocht him at the last And in his hert can umbecast. (v, 551.)

Cf. And in his thoct kest mony way. (Troy, ii, 1989.)

The Alexander.

That forsy was in field to fecht.
196 (18).

Cf. Large and forssy for to fight.
258 (29).

And syne went to the wod away.
215 (32).

Had ze nocht all the better bene
Thay had zow slane that men had sene.
240 (14).

Had he nocht all the better bene
He had bene deid forouttin wene.
380 (2).

He lap on and went furth in hy.
296 (12).

The Bruce.

Hardy and forey for the ficht. (xi, 215.)
And how forsy he wes in fycht.
(xv, 410.)

Be stede de foreye for all fyghtes.
(Troy frag., ii, 510.)
And syne vend to the vod away.
(v, 561.)

That had he nocht the bettir heyn
He had beyn ded forouten weyn.
(vi, 161.)

Cf. He had heyn ded foroutyn weyr.
(vii, 219.)

Lap on and went with thaim in hy.
(v, 214.)

[NOT A DINNER!]

And thay ar anely till dynare
To ane great hoste that we have here.
308 (32).

[French has: Car il sont poi de
gent pour sa gent desjunner.
(Add. MS. 16,956, fol. 95.)]

Cf. With sa quhene that may nocht
he

Ane denner to my great menze.
336 (15).

[French has: Ce n'est pas une sausse
pour destremper la moie (Add.
16,956, fol. 107), but Add. 16,888,
fol. 98b, reads: Ce n'est mie une
soupe.]

Bot thai ar nocht withouten wer
Half deill ane dyner till us here.
(xiv, 188.)

[THE BATTLE OF EFFESOUN.]

And ma into thair first cumming
War laid at eard but recovering
The remanent thair gait ar gane.
362 (26).

Cf. Amang thame at thare first
meting
Was slane but ony uther
recovering. 29 (14).

[Intrusion in translation.]

And weill ost at thar fryst metyng
War layd at erd but recoveryng.
(iii, 15.)
The remanand thar gat ar gane. (viii,
354.)

The Alexander.

That speiris all to frushit are. 363
(26).

Cf. The speiris all to frushit thare.
286 (12).

Durst nane abyde to mak debait. 379
(16).

And thay that doutand war to de.
385 (26).

His neiffis for dule togidder he dang.
393 (12).

That the assemble all to schoke
And the renkis all to quoke. 396 (26).
Rede blude ran out of woundis raith.
401 (30).

He said he had in alkin thing
Our lytill land to his leving. 403 (15).
[*Alexander sighing for more worlds.*]

[THE NINE WORTHIES.]

Judas Machabeus I hecht
Was of sic verteu and sic micht
That thoch thay all that lyfe micht lede
Come shorand him as for the dede
Armit all for cruell battale
Quhill he with him of alkin men
Micht be ay ane aganes ten. 404 (29).

Arthur that held Britane the grant
Slew Rostrik that stark gyant
That was sa stark and stout in deid
That of Kingis beirdis he maid ane weid
The quhilk Kingis alluterly
War obeysant to his will all halely
He wald have had Arthouris beird
And failgeit *for he it richt weill weird*¹
On mount Michael slew he ane
That sik ane freik was never nane

The Bruce.

That speris all to-fruschit war. (ii,
350.)

Thai durst nocht byde na mak debait.
(x, 692.)

For thai that dredand war to de. (iv,
417.)

And thair nevis oft sammyn driff.
(xx, 257.)

[This in grief for Bruce's death.]

That all the renk about them quouk.
(ii, 365.)

Till red blude ran of voundis rath.
(viii, 322.)

Thocht that Scotland to litill wes
Till his brothir and him alsua. (xiv, 4.)

This gud knycht that so vorthy was
Till Judas Machabeus that hicht
Micht liknyt weill be in that ficht
Na multitud he forsuk of men
Quhill he hade ane aganis ten.
(xiv, 312.)

Judas Macabéus restoit de tel talant
Que tint cil du monde li fussent au
devant
Armé et pour bataille felonnesse et
nuisant
Ja tant com il eust o eoi de remanant
Un homme contre x nel veist on fuiant.
(Add. MS., Harl. 16,956, fol. 140^b.)
Artus qui de Bretaingne va le Bruit
tesmoignant
Que il mata Ruston i jaient en plain
champ
Qui tant par estoit fort fier et outre-
cuidant
Qui de barbes a roys fist faire i veste-
ment
Liquel roy li estoient par force obeissant
Si vot avoir Artus mais il i fu faillant

¹ This sarcasm (not in the French) is in *Morte Arthure*, 1034.

The Alexander.

Bot gif the story gabbing ma. 405 (11).

And routis royd about him dang. 407 ().

And he lap on delyverly. 410 (10).

Cf. And on him lap delyverly. 398 (2).

Cf. p. 37.

Quhill shulder and arme flew him fra
And he down to the erd can ga. 411 (5).

[French has:

Souz la senestre epaule que toute li
coupa

Et cil chiet du cheval qui tres grant
dolour a.

(Add. 16, 888, fol. 132.)]

Cf. That arme and shulder he dang
him fra. 5 (22).

Thare men nicht felloun fechtung se.
412 (25).

Thair was ane felloun fechtung thair.
77 (31).

He rushit down of blude all rede
Quhen Porrus sawe that he was dede.
413 (13).

Toward thame we raid sa fast
That we ouertuke thame at the last.
423 (10).

Thus mak thay peax quhair weir was
air. 429 (20).

[French has:

Ainsi fu l'accordance et la guerre
apaisie. (Add. 16, 956, fol. 152^b.)]

Thay maid thame mekill feste and fare.
433 (20).

The Bruce.

Sur le mont Saint Michiel enrociest i si
grant

Que tout cil du pays en furent mer-
veillant

En plusours autres lieux si l'estorie ne
ment.

(Add. 16, 956, fo. 140^b, corrected by
Add. 16, 888, fo. 129^b.)

[WAR AND PEACE.]

It was neirhand none of the day. 407 (9).

Quhill it wes neir noyne of the day.
(xvii, 659.)

And rowtis ruyd about thaim dang.
(ii, 356.)

And lap on hym delyverly. (ii, 142.)

That arme and schuldyr flaw him fra.
(iii, 115.)

Thair mycht men se men felly ficht.
(xviii, 460.)

Thar mycht men felloun fechtung se.
(xx, 418.)

Ane felloun fechtung wes [than] thair.
(xiv, 294.)

He ruschit doune of blude all rede
And quhen the king saw thai war ded.
(v, 645.)

Bot the chassar is sped thame so fast
That thai ourtuk sum at the last.
(vi, 439.)

Thus maid wes pess quhar wer wes air.
(xx, 63.)

He maid thame mekill fest and far.
(xvi, 46.)

XII. THE EPILOGUE WITH THE ERRONEOUS DATE 1438.

When regard is had to the accumulation of evidence now adduced it is no longer possible to doubt that Barbour's *Bruce* and the *Alexander* are from one pen. No imaginable theory of copying, no conceivable saturation of one poet's mind with the conceptions, the technique, the style, the vocabulary, and the mannerisms of another, would offer reasonable explanation of resemblances so intimate and so perfectly sustained. Either Barbour's *Bruce* was not written by Barbour, who died in 1396, but by the other author whose corresponding work bears date 1438, or that date in the epilogue of the *Alexander*, containing its two final tirades, is impossible.

The actual translation of the *Vœux du Paon* ends on p. 441 of the *Alexander* with the words referring to the death of Alexander at Babylon—

He deit thare throw poysoning
It was great harm of sic ane thing
For never mare sic ane lord as he
Sall in this warld recoverit be.

In the same way closes the French poem in the Harleian MS. Add. 16,888, fo. 141 (Ward's *Catalogue of Romances*, i, pp. 146-152)—

Vers la grant Babiloine on en lanprisona
Las dalant quel damage quant il ci tot fina
Car puis que li vrais diex le siècle commensa
Tel prince ne naqui ne james ne naitra.
Explicit des vouz du paon.

Following the actual completion of the Scots translation comes the epilogue—

To short thame that na Romanes can
this buke to translait I began
And as I can I maid ending,
Bot thocht I failzeit of ryming
Or meter or sentence for the rude,
Forgif me for my will was gude
to follow that in franche I fand writtin;
Bot thocht that I seuin zeir had sittin
to mak it on sa gude manere
Sa oppin sentence and sa clere
As is the frenche I nicht haue failzeit;
For thy my wit was nocht trauallit

to mak it sa for I na couth
 Bot said forth as me come to mouth
 And as I said richt sa I wrait ;
 thairfoir richt wonder weill I wait
 And it hes faltis mony fald.
 Qubhairfoir I pray baith zoung and ald
 that garnis this romanis for to reid
 For to amend quhair I mysgeid.

ZE that haue hard this romanis heir
 May sumdeill hy exampill leir
 to lufe vertew attour all thing
 And preis zow ay for to win louing,
 that zour name may for zour bounte
 Amang men of gude menit be ;
 For quhen ze lawe ar laid in lame
 than leuis thar nathing hot ane name
 As ze deserued gud or ill ;
 And ze may alsweill gif ze will
 Do the gude and haue louing
 As qubylum did this nobill King,
 that git is prysed for his bounte
 the quhether thre hundreth zeir was he
 Before the tyme that God was horne
 to saue our saullis that was forlorne.
 Sensyne is past ane thousand zeir
 Four hundreth and threttie thair to neir
 And aucht and sundeile mare I wis.
 God bring us to his mekill blis
 that ringis ane in trinitie.
 Amen amen for cheritie.

The Erroneous Date.

To conclude 1438 an error is, as will be conceded from what has gone before, no begging of the question. Following closely upon the completion of the *Bruce* in the spring of 1376, Barbour had received a royal gift of £10 in 1377, and an hereditary pension or annuity to himself and to his assignees was granted in 1378. (Exch. Rolls, ii, 566, 597; Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis, i, 129.) This pension was officially, though at a later period, declared to have been given for writing the *Bruce*—"pro compilacione libri de gestis quondam Regis Roberti de Brus" (Exch. Rolls, iv, 457, 520). His public success is evinced in many other ways. Prior to 1424 Androw of Wyntoun had engrossed into his *Cronykil* long extracts which agree almost perfectly with the text

as we have it now. That Wyntoun's own style was greatly influenced by Barbour is unquestionable, and many and admiring references to *Bruce's Book* are gracious examples of early criticism.

Wyntoun's quotation from Barbour relative to the contest for the Crown in 1292-95 is acknowledged to be quotation (Wyntoun, bk. viii, line 177) in the words—

Forthi sayd Mayster Jhon Barbers
That mekyll trestyd off that matere.

It thus need not surprise when in the narrative we find an occasional couple of lines not absolutely necessary to the sense omitted. (*Bruce*, app. to Prof. Skeat's pref., xciii-cvi.) In another place Wyntoun (bk. viii, line 976) refers readers desiring fuller particulars to the *Bruce*—

To that Buke I thaim remyt
Quhare Mayster Jhon Barbars off Abbyrdene
Archeden as mony has sene
Hys dedis dytyd mare wertusly
Than I can thynk in all study,
Haldand in all lele suthfastnes,
Set all he wrat noucht his [i.e. Bruce's] prowes.

To this admiration of Wyntoun for Barbour, indeed, is due the absence from his *Cronykil* of any record of King Robert's reign. That Wyntoun knew Barbour's poem as distinctly a Douglas document¹ as well as a eulogy of Bruce appears from the reference to the king's death and burial, Wyntoun thus ending Bruce's reign as he began it by remitting his readers to *Bruce's Book*.

And gud Jamys off Dowglas
Hys hart tuk as fyrst ordanyd was
For to here in the Haly Land.
How that that wes tane on hand
Well propertys Brwsis Buk
Quhay will tharoff the maters luke.

(Wyntoun, viii, 3121—a part of the section borrowed by
Wyntoun from an anonymous source, viii, 2945-64.)

Thus credentialled beyond the attack of rational scepticism, the *Bruce* stands as a fact of 1376 which cannot be moved. But its

¹ Between 1390 and 1392 Sir James Douglas, of Dalkeith, by his will bequeathed "et omnes libros meos tam civiles et statuta Regni Scotie quam Romancie" (Bannatyne Miscellany, ii, pp. 112-114; National MSS. Scotland, part iii, No. iv). It is pleasant to find both Stewarts and Douglasses patrons of literature in Barbour's time.

relations with the *Alexander* are impossible for an *Alexander* not written till 1438, unless, indeed, John Barbour rose from his grave to write it!

Treating 1438 as a scribal or printer's error, one has no difficulty whatever. This date is the solitary circumstance which stands between; that rectified, Barbour infallibly obtains his own by a judgment as assured as any literary verdict ever given. The rectification, formidable as at first it looks, is of a truth the removal of a mere bubble obstacle. Assuming first that the error might be scribal, one can point to Barbour's own experiences to prove how easily such slips occur. There are in the *Legends of the Saints* not fewer than a dozen dates which differ from the standard printed text of the *Legenda Aurea*, some of them perhaps due to copyists' negligence, some undoubtedly due to a curious fault possibly inherent in Barbour's own pen whereby "score" is wrongly inserted. Here follows a list of dates in the *Legends* at variance with the Latin print:—

Dates and numbers in <i>Legenda Aurea</i> .	In the <i>Legends</i> .	Reference to <i>Legends</i> .
9,000	11,000	vi, 435.
60,000	70,000	xi, 388.
A.D. 283	A.D. 388	xx, 368.
372	377	xxiii, 178.
398	328	xxiv, 560.
1088	1087	xxvi, 607.
470	478	xxx, 739.
280	360	xxxii, 807.
287	288	xxxvii, 343.
253	353	xlii, 274.
223	233	xliii, 625.
cccx	Thre hundre tene zere and ane	xlvi, 352.
237	287	xlvi, 307.
280	360	xlvi, 213.

The unfortunate tendency of Barbour's dates to get wrong is quaintly illustrated in the *Troy fragments* (ii, 3060), where the Latin gives 93 as the years of Ulysses, which Barbour expands to the ultra-patriarchal age by an additional score, making

A hundreth zere hole and threttene.

The tendency pursued the worthy man after death, for in the very calendar of Aberdeen Cathedral the obit of John Barbour, its most renowned archdeacon, is entered as of date 1290 [1390?] (*Registrum Epis. Aberdon.*, ii, 7), although there is abundant proof that he was still living in 1395, but dead in 1396 (*Exch. Rolls*, iii, 368, 395).

While in the nature of things the biographies of saints are hardly to be looked to as first-class sources of chronology, and while allowance must be made for variations of manuscripts, yet as the dates in the *Legends* are by no means numerous the twelve instances above enumerated constitute a formidable percentage of error, being not less than one-third of all the dates in the work. That some are due to imperfections of the poet's own penmanship is likely enough: it would never do to impute to him the impiety of deliberately causing minor divergences with the base end of mere rime. But in cases reasonable conjecture on the cause of error is possible. These are those of A.D. 398-328, 280-360, 253-353, 237-387, and 280-360.

Legenda Aurea.

(1) cccxcviii.

(2) cclxxx.

(3) ccliii.

(4) ccxxxvii.

(5) cclxxx.

Legends.

Thre hundir gere twenty & aucht. (xxiv, 560.)

IIC VIII^{xx} of geris ewyne. (xxxii, 807.)

Thre hundre L geris & thre. (xlii, 274.)

Twa hundre lxxxvii gere. (xlv, 307.)

Twa hundre & aucht score of gere. (xlvii, 213.)

Instances three and four may be due to an extra *c* and *l* respectively in some manuscript transition. But observe a confusion in the second and fifth, which may explain much. If a printer with all the wisdom of the Clarendon Press were asked to transliterate IIC VIII^{xx}, what could he make of it but 360? And in the last example—eight score plus two hundred—surely the sum he would render would be just eighty more than the figure in the Golden Legend.

Applied to 1438, what might this peculiar error—whereby any given numeral becomes multiplied by 20 instead of by 10—reveal as the genesis of a blunder? Let us suppose that the printer in or about 1580 (not by any means over-accurate, as many misprints show, and given to printing numbers by using lower-case Roman numerals) found his copy quite distinct thus: *ccccxxx thairto neir, and aucht* [etc.], the close analogy of the errors above indicated might warrant putative evolutions:—

(A) original cclxxx.

changed to cccxxx.

or (B) original cccliii^{xx}. (A very common form in fifteenth-century Scotland.)changed to ccvi^{xx}.

The last form of change only involves the dropping of two dots, making *iii* into *ui*, and altering 300 + 60 + 10 into 300 + 120 + 10. It would yield as the corrected date of the *Alexander* the year 1378.

That, however, is merely a suggestion. The style, diction, and rime of the *Alexander* place it close beside the *Bruce*, later than the *Troy*, and decidedly earlier than the *Legends*. Barbour's mind was full of the *Alexander* when he wrote the *Bruce*. He refers distinctly and repeatedly to it, he cites passages which occur in the translation, he refers to incidents and translates passages which are in the French and are not translated, he was saturated with the spirit of the *chanson*, and there is not a single valid ground, except the blundered date in the epilogue, for objecting to the conclusion that the translation, which probably began with the *Avowes*, was directly or indirectly a study for the *Bruce*, though not published, if it ever did receive a public form, until after the *Bruce* had given its author his renown.

Besides, it must not be forgotten that the date 1438 may not be a copyist's mistake; it may be a scribe's deliberate act. It was a well-known scribal practice to change such dates found in the manuscript in course of being copied by substituting the date of the scribe's own task. For instance, both the Glasgow University MS. (F 6, 14) and the Advocates' Library MS. (35, 5, 2) of the Liber Pluscardensis give the date of the work as 1461, while the scribe of the Fairfax MS. (Bodleian, Fairfax 8) silently changed the date in this passage to 1489, the year in which he made his copy. (Fordun ed., Skene, i, pref. xx, xxi; Liber Pluscard., i, pref. x-xii.)

Thus, on received canons of textual criticism the puzzling 1438 proves to be no Gordian knot. It is hopelessly at variance with the work to which it is attached. Whether the error arose from a misread numeral or whether a scribe copying in 1438 altered his original—as he might do with perfectly good faith, without falsehood or plagiarism too, as the context shows—to suit his own time, this date must, for the great purposes of Scottish literary history, henceforth cease to be reckoned the date of origin of our poem. In the epilogue—in those lines which immediately precede and follow the date and close a work fit in every sense to stand alongside the *Bruce*—the quiet voice of Barbour is unmistakably audible. We hear it in these final parallels from the last eight lines:

Before the tyme that God was borne
To save our saullis that was forlorne.

A. 442 (23).

That God and Man of the wes borne
To saufe synful that was forlorne.

(Leg., xviii, 659.)

And Jhesu in his tyme wes borne
That sawit us al that ware forlorne.

(Leg., xxxvi, 923.)

Three last lines of Alexander.

God bring us to his mekill bliss
That ringis ane in trinitie
Amen amen for cheritie. A. 442 (28).

Cf. also :

Bot takes me till hevinnis kinge
That till his gret bliss sall me
bringe. (Leg., l. 603.)
And for to bruk that mykill blis.
(Leg., l. 681.)

Amen amen for cheritie.

Three last lines of Bruce.

The afald God in trinite
Bryng us hye up till hevynnis bliss
Quhar all - wayis lestand liking is.

Amen. (xx, 618.)

Cf. also five lines earlier :

Vp till his mekill bliss thame
bryng. (Br. xx, 613.)

Also :

Quhare he that is of hevyn the
king
Bring thame hye up till hevynnis
bliss
Quhar alway lestand liking is.

(Br., xvi, 532.)

Amen amen parcheryte. (Leg., xxv,
779, end of legend of St. Julian.)

Sa we amen par cheryte. (Leg., xviii,
1490, end of legend of St. Mary of
Egypt.)

Amen amen amen p[ar] c[herite].
(Leg., xlix, 334, end of legend of
Thekla.)

It were a counsel of despair to attempt to account on any footing of chance or of copying for resemblances which, followed all through the poem, still crowd in upon its final¹ words. That a heroic poem on Robert the Bruce and a romance of Alexander the Great should alike at the close in three lines invoke (1) God as "afald" or ane, (2) as "in trinite," in a prayer to (3) "bring us" to the (4) "bliss" of heaven, is not less satisfactory than that the seventh line from the last of the *Bruce* should complete the similarity by its adoption also of the prayer for (5) "mekill bliss" in full. And even (6) the *Amen amen for cherite* is found in the *Legends*. There is in all this a good deal for three lines to carry.²

¹ A curious and interesting further parallel comes from the last page of the *Alexander* :

For quhen ye lawe are laid in lame [=loam]. A., 442 (15).
The king was ded and laid in lame. (Br., xix, 256, ed. Hart.)

² I am well aware of the prevalence of such endings. But this, when attendant features are remembered, does not take away the piquancy of so many points common to the close of *Bruce* and *Alexander*. Even as commonplaces they would show that the same commonplaces were selected by the poet and the translator.

XIII. RIMES.

Earlier Negative Standards adjusted and reapplied.

With a case so complete on the substance the necessity to consider arguments touching rimes and diction rather tries the patience, but as it was through the rimes that the attack was made on Barbour's authorship of the *Troy fragments* and the *Legends*, the lines of defence from that quarter must be looked to. Happily defence from our German friends is secure enough, notwithstanding the unfortunate and quite unnecessary capitulation of Prof. Skeat and Dr. Metcalfe in 1894 and 1888-96. The rimes themselves have already developed the offensive with success (*Athenæum*, 27 Feb., 1897, pp. 279-280), and it may be trusted they will be no less efficient now, when for the first time *Alexander* enters the field as their ally.

Briefly, the case on diction is that Barbour could not have written the *Troy fragments* or the *Legends* because in phrases and in vocabulary there were so many marked differences (*Bruce*, i, pref., pp. l-lii). The critics who discovered these differences, which to other eyes are not so very marked, did not notice that there were many resemblances both prominent and subtle: they forgot that a translation infers the adoption of a vocabulary quite away from that which an original composition would have induced: they failed to give adequate value to the influence of time in works produced at different dates in a poet's career, and they laid too little stress on the difference of theme, the inspiring or uninspiring conditions of the work, and the physical state of the author. And last, but not least, they did not suspect the *Alexander*, which, doubling the area of observation for deducing laws of rime and diction, reacts with such effect on the entire argument, driving itself like a wedge between the *Bruce* on the one hand and the *Troy* and the *Legends* on the other.

On rimes the question comes to closer quarters. The chief contention was that the rime system of the *Bruce* was too materially different from that of the *Troy* and the *Legends* to admit the possibility of a common author. It was said that Barbour never allowed such a word as *he* 'high' or *e* 'eye' to rime with words like *be* 'be' or *he* 'he,' because of the final guttural or after sound (*heh* or *hey*, *egh* or *ey*) proper to these words correctly pronounced at that time in accordance with phonetic tradition. Now it is to

be remembered that this canon begs the whole question of the text of *Bruce*. This process is simple: first you find your canon; then you edit out of your text all that is disconform. However, if the text which Professor Skeat prints is correct, then Barbour did at least once in the *Bruce* rime *de* 'die' with *be* 'be' (Br., xx, 428*).¹ In fact, the error is in making an absolute law of what is merely a fairly sound generalization. It is true that most usually in the *Bruce* these guttural *e* words are rimed with others of the same order. Most usually—and therefore the criterion is valuable to apply to the *Alexander*. In that poem the proposition holds absolutely as regards five words—*de* 'die' (except once), *dre* 'dree,' *e* 'eye,' *he* 'high,' and *flay* 'frighten,' which always rime with *e* guttural. To that extent, therefore, the *Alexander* has nothing to fear from the old rime attack. These crucial rimes bring it into very close touch with the *Bruce*. On the other hand, *fle* 'flee,' *le* 'lie,' and *unsle* 'not sly' rime both ways, thus bringing the *Alexander* into line with the *Troy* and the *Legends*. Here is a table of all the guttural *e* rimes in the *Alexander* :—

Rimes in <i>Bruce</i> .	Word.	Rime and reference to page of <i>Alexander</i> , words in <i>e</i> not guttural being put in italics.	Remark.
<i>fle</i> , <i>he</i>	<i>De</i> (die)	<i>fle</i> , 51, 222, 228, 294, 363, 365, 380; <i>he</i> (high), 48, 379, 380, 385	As in <i>Bruce</i> , <i>Troy</i> <i>fr.</i> , and <i>Legends</i> .
<i>be</i>		<i>bounte</i> , 417	
<i>he</i> , <i>de</i>	<i>Dre</i>	<i>le</i> (lie), 169; <i>he</i> (high), 150, 413; <i>unsle</i> , 240	As in <i>Bruce</i> .
<i>fle</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>fle</i> , 131	As in <i>Bruce</i> .
<i>de</i> , <i>he</i> , <i>e</i>	<i>Fle</i>	<i>de</i> (see above); <i>he</i> (high), 141; <i>e</i> , 131; (<i>fleis deis</i> , 138) <i>menzie</i> , 364; <i>be</i> , 91-2	As in <i>Troy fr.</i>
	<i>Flay</i>	<i>he</i> (high), 319	Correct.
<i>de</i> , <i>fle</i>	<i>He</i> (high)	<i>de</i> (die), 348, 379, 385; <i>fle</i> , 141; <i>flay</i> , 319; <i>dre</i> , 413	As in <i>Bruce</i> .
[<i>melle</i> ?]	<i>Le</i> (lie)	<i>dre</i> , 169 <i>trewlye</i> , 160; <i>be</i> , 105	As in <i>Troy fr.</i> and <i>Legends</i> .
	<i>Unsle</i>	<i>dre</i> , 240 <i>Pincarny</i> , 143-4	As in <i>Legends</i> .

¹ The lines in question, after being printed in the text and annotated as "no doubt genuine," were condemned, "for Barbour never rimes *be* with *de*." (Br., notes, p. 295, pref., lxxvii). So the text is made to give way to the rime-canon. The lines do not occur in manuscript, but are found in Hart's edition, which yields twenty-seven other lines not in the manuscripts, but accepted as "almost certainly genuine" by Professor Skeat. Presumably Hart's edition followed the text of an earlier version of 1571. (Br., pref., lxxvi.)

Thus, while in the *Bruce* it is true that *de* (except once), *dre*, *e*, and *he*, all in *e* guttural, never rime with *e* pure, the same thing is literally and exactly true in the *Alexander*.

Positive Rime Standards.

The total list of quite erroneous rimes in the *Alexander* (apart from many, as in the *Bruce*, in which the vowel concordance is strained) makes but a short collection and compares closely with that of the *Bruce*. There are some assonances in the *Bruce*, for instance, the undisputed *Bretane*, *hame* (xviii, 473) and the questioned name, *Cowbane* (xviii, 410, 431), as well as the curious *Carnavarane*, *lame* (xix, 256, ed. Hart). In the *Alexander* there are six of the same species—*shame*, *gane* (15), *grome*, *son* (122), *belyfe*, *swith* (151), *blyth*, *lyfe* (355), *bargane*, *lame* (396), *shupe*, *tuke* (399).¹

Of the misrimes in the *Alexander* not gerundial, *great*, *baith* (439) may be compared with *laid*, *grathit* of *Bruce* (v, 387). *Persand* (for Persian, properly Persan), *prikand* (145) and *Fleand*, *grant* (A. 162) will stand alongside *panch*, *dance* (Br., ix, 398). *Slane*, *drawyne* (A. 97) has, it is true, no parallel in the *Bruce*, but in the *Troy fragments* (ii, 813) it has *mayne*, *drawyne*. *Ydeas*, *tears* (A. 327) is certainly dreadful to contemplate as a fourteenth-century foretaste of nineteenth-century degeneracy, but *son*, *fyne* (A. 435) is probably due to some error of the press. To match some of these may be mentioned *Bruce* rimes: *Robert*, *sperit* (v, 13) and *ruschit*, *refusit* (iv, 145). Thus far the balance of rectitude in rime is to a trifling degree against the *Alexander* and in favour of the *Bruce*.

Accordingly, it must be with some curiosity that one watches the comparison when there are thrown into it those gerundial misrimes which in 1897 were appealed to as a decisive criterion, not negative, but positive, for authorship. That an author does not use certain *e* rimes employed commonly enough by others, and not incorrect, is valuable up to a point, if it be absolutely sure he does not use them: that he uses, on the other hand, incorrect rimes, for example in *yang*, scarcely to be found elsewhere in his period, is obviously a fact of much more pregnant note. In 1897 there was no word of the *Alexander*: the proposition had regard only to the *Bruce*, the *Troy*, and the *Legends*, and the point established was that there existed such a peculiarity in Barbour's

¹ The *Legends* are full of assonances of the same sort. Barbour in his old age was not so careful over his saints as he was earlier over his kings.

yng rimes as made them a real test. His rime specialty was shown to be the liberty he took of now and again riming with *yne* a gerund or verbal noun properly spelt and pronounced *yng*. Such a misrime as this found in fourteenth-century Scotland might well be reckoned loose to the point of eccentricity. It was first adverted to by Professor Skeat, who was struck (Br., ii, pp. 315-16) by his list of the examples. "Here take notice," he said, "of a remarkable class of words in which the ending *-yn* or *-yne* (with silent *-e*) represents the modern *-ing* at the end of a VERBAL NOUN which is always kept quite distinct from the present participle ending (in Barbour) in *-and*." Then follows his list of the examples, included in that given below. It is necessary to say that the true bearing of this peculiar class of rimes is obscured by the brevity of Professor Skeat's note. The verbal noun normally in Barbour ends in *yng* and rimes with *yng*: the examples of *yng*, *yne* rime are numerically in a very small minority, and almost every repeated word in Professor Skeat's list is far oftener found with the true *yng* rime than the false *yne* one. To illustrate this by the first on the list, *armyng* rimes properly with *letting* (iii, 614), with *evynning* (iv, 398), and with *thyng* (xx, 341). Such spellings as *armyne* and such rimes as that with *syne* (xvii, 263) are thus quite exceptional, even as regards the *Bruce* itself. They are exceptions, but there are fourteen of them.

In 1897 the present writer said:—"In the earlier poetry of Scotland this gerundial rime is, as Professor Skeat said, indeed remarkable. A faithful search enables me to confirm that opinion. I can find no such usage as Barbour's in any other poet. Sporadic examples exist, but even these are rare, so rare that in over 70,000 lines—not by Barbour—of Scottish fourteenth and fifteenth century verse I can (leaving out of account four proper name instances) find only four cases (Wyntoun, viii, 5417; Holland's *Howlat*, 52, 712; *Rauf Coilgear*, 60). It is a usage, therefore, more than remarkable: it is unique, an integral organic flaw in the rime system." (*Athenæum*, 27 Feb., 1897, p. 280.)¹

Even had this feature a less outstanding importance than that of representing an exceptional license, taken systematically by no

¹ Since these words were written I have seen nothing to qualify them except that Mr. J. T. T. Brown has referred me to the *Sowdone of Babylon*, an English poem which has been attributed to the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. Its rimes are amazingly loose, and comprise very many assonances and equations of *yng* with *yne*.

early poet in Scotland save Barbour himself, its unquestionable distinctiveness of the *Bruce* would invest the following table of comparisons with the utmost critical value.

Lists of YNG, YNE Rimes.

This gerundial misrime is, in a word, characteristic of all Barbour's work — in all it is an exception. It was the test which first satisfied me that the author of the *Alexander* was no longer unknown. In the following lists,¹ for the sake of facilitating examination, the *yng* words have been put first. Thus, *commandyne*, *syne*, and the others will be read as if written "*commandyne* (correctly *commandyng*) rimed erroneously with *syne*." Instances of words not gerunds have been inserted where, as in *ring* and *fing*, it is not possible to dispute that the *yng* or *ing* termination is wronged by its rime.

<i>Bruce.</i>	<i>Troy frag.</i>	<i>Alexander.</i>	<i>Legends.</i>
commandyne,	stekinges,	*helpyne,	*thrynde (thrynge),
syne. (i, 255.)	engynes. (517.)	tyne. 20 (4).	byode. (i, 86.)
*fechtyne,	distribuyne,	*armin,	cumlyne,
syne. (iii, 241.)	syne. (922.)	shein. 26 (28).	syne. (i, 649.)
*fichtyne,	refetyne,	*lyking,	baptysing,
syne. (iv, 243.)	syne. (1445.)	syne. 192 (19).	sene. (iii, 73.)
hontyne,		*armyne,	*hidding,
syne. (iv, 512.)		fyne. 206 (15).	done. (v, 373.)
mellyne,		lesing,	*admonestine,
vyne. (v, 405.)		alpbhing. 208 (20).	fyne. (xvi, 533.)
*cummyng.		(<i>alphyne</i> , the correct form, occurs, 211.)	ourcummyne,
covyng (correctly		festnine,	wethyrwyne.
covyne). (ix, 13.)		syne. 249 (9).	(xviii, 381.)
hapayne,		chapin,	*garninge,
tyne. (xii, 373.)		win. 259 (28).	wyne. (xviii, 923.)
dowtyne,		justyne,	*clethinge,
vyne. (xiv, 229.)		syne. 265 (13).	senesyne.
*helyne,		*carpine,	(xviii, 991.)
syne. (xv, 83.)		thyne. 412 (1).	mornying,
*armyne,		*cummyne,	fynd. (xix, 266.)
syne. (xvii, 263.)		syne. 427 (27).	*kinge,
*tranontyne,		[<i>amyng</i> (for <i>amang</i>),	bynd. (xix, 384.)
tyne. (xix, 693.)		gamyn. 251 (28).	*lowyng,
welcummyne,		Cf. <i>Legends</i> , xli,	fynd. (xix, 685.)
syne. (xix, 793.)		327 :	*carpyng,
governyne,		schenand,	pyne. (xxiii, 223.)
medicyn.		ymange.]	*blyssine,
(xx, 531.)			fyne. (xxvi, 379.)

¹ Proper names are purposely omitted, as so many of them are ambiguous, for example Dunfermlin.

<i>Bruce.</i>	<i>Troy frag.</i>	<i>Alexander.</i>	<i>Legends.</i>
*murnyng, syne. (xx, 569.)			*persawing, schyne. (xxvii, 375.)
			*teching, discypline. (xxvii, 817.)
			*endynge, fynde. (xxxi, 805.)
			*schewynge, ourcumyne (here a past participle). (xxxii, 35.)
	<i>Words asterisked rime also in yng, in the same work, many of them repeatedly.</i>		thingis, wynis. (xxxiv, 83.)
			*reknyng, thine. (xxxv, 79.)
			*dinge, behynde. (xxxvii, 193.)
			*lykine, virgine. (xli, 315.)
			*ryng, tharein. (xli, 379.)
			*duellinge, fyne. (xliii, 491.)
			*flynge, bynd. (xlv, 173.)

Proper names not computed.

leding,	conselyne,	entermetynge,
Brechyne. (ix, 120.)	Appolyne. (497.)	Agrippyne. (i, 311.)
restyne,		lowing,
Lyne. (ix, 682.)		Martyne. (xxvii, 27.)

The totals are :

	<i>yng, yne</i> rimes.
Troy frag., 3,000 lines	3
Bruce, 13,000 lines	14
Alexander, 14,000 lines	11
Legends, 33,000 lines	24

Most noticeable is the recurrence of *syne* sixteen times, while *armyne* also is common to the *Alexander* and the *Bruce*, and *tyne*, *thine*, *shine*, *fyne*, *wyne*, *carpine*, *cummyne*, and *lykine*, all do duty more than once in different lists. Thus, whether negative or positive be the arguments from rime, the *Alexander* emerges from

them all with triumphant consistency as Barbour's, essentially harmonizing with the *Bruce*, and yet again and again revealing the affinity of both to the *Troy fragments* and the *Legends*.

XIV. THE PLACE OF THE *Alexander*.

Concurrent lines of demonstration, so many and so strong, make further argument—make even recapitulation—superfluous. The place of the *Alexander*, however, is hard to determine, especially the question Did it precede or did it follow the *Bruce*? Indications appear to me quite distinct that the carefully rimed *Troy fragments* were written first of all, followed by *Alexander* and *Bruce* or *Bruce* and *Alexander*, and that the *Legends* end the chapter. The influence of Guido de Columpna on Barbour has been most notable. Barbour practised and acquired his trade by translating Guido. Perhaps no finer effort did Barbour ever make than in his description of the voyage of Bruce to Rachrin, a description as surely inspired by Guido¹ as the descriptions of May common to the *Alexander* and the *Bruce*. The influence of the French *Alexander* is conspicuous in the *Bruce* also, for, besides the innumerable passages shared with the translation, the Scottish poem mentions the Forray and extols the valour of Gadifer in lines which embrace a summary of the action not found in the original French :

For to reskew all the fleieris
Aod for to stonay the chasseris. (Br., iii, 81.)

The *Alexander* translation describing Gadifer's splendid courage against the forayers tells also how he set himself

For to defend all the flearis
And for to stony the chaissaris. A., 88 (20).

These words are not in the French (Michelant, 172), but are an intrusion of the translator's admirably summing up the situation. Contrasts of *flearis* and *chasaris* are common to both *Alexander*, 137 (30), 395 (26), and *Bruce* (vi, 436); besides, Barbour used

¹ Cf. *Troy fragments*, ii, 1717-1720, with the expanded narrative in *Bruce*, iii, 690-720, especially noting that the *Troy* line 1720 repeated in the *Bruce* lines 719-20 is not in the Latin.

this very collocation of words in an earlier passage than that concerning Gadifer:

That he reskewit all the flearie
And styntit swagat the chassaris. (Br., iii, 51.)

A second direct and scarcely less explicit reference is made to the French poem in the *Bruce* (x, 703), the passage revealing the same free principles of translation as those in the rendering of the Forray. (Cf. Michelant, 217-18.)

But indirect references are yet more fully charged with proofs of how much the *Bruce* owes to the romance. The telling of the story of Bannockburn has been shaped by the romance description of the Great Battell of Effesoun. Barbour's mind and memory had been steeped in the *Alexander* when he wrote the *Bruce*, but the puzzle is, in some cases, to determine whether Barbour as poet influenced Barbour as translator, or *vice versa*. In one instance there can be little doubt. The *Alexander*, describing the terrible slaughter made by Porrus, says:

Of handis and heidis baith braune and blude
He maid ane lardnare quhare he stude. A. 233 (5).

There is nothing corresponding in the French.¹ One remembers how deeply the cruel episode of the capture and sacking of Douglas Castle was impressed on the historical memory:

Tharfor the men of that cuntre
For sic thingis thar mellit were
Callit it the Douglas lardenere. (Br., v, 408.)

Accordingly the translator of the French poem took a lurid and telling phrase from a fact of Scottish history and thrust it, a loan from the Scots, into his translation.

The place of the *Alexander* is in the forefront of the influences which shaped the *Bruce*. As regards style and narrative, and even to some extent in plan, the impress of the French romance is vital. Historically, perhaps in a good many details, we shall have to reconsider ourselves, although the essential 'soothfastness' emphatically remains. Whether the poet made the translation

¹ Cf. A. 232 (32) - 233 (8) with Add. 16,956, fol. 66:

Du poing a tout lespee ot fait son champion
Le champ leur fait widier ou il voellent ou non
Pour retorner tantost an mur a garison
Et les femmes escrient a la mort au larron.

first and then wrote the *Bruce* with direct reminiscences of the task dogging him at every turn, or whether he used the technique of the *Bruce* for the subsequent translation of a romance with which he was already intimately familiar, is after all only secondary. The broad certainty is that both are direct expressions of a very thorough appreciation of the French romance, applied in the one case to genuine translation and in the other to the poetic shaping of a noble chapter of Scottish annals, a new, admirable, and in the deepest sense historic *chanson de geste*, and that both works are approximately of the same date. Beyond this simple conclusion a nobler field invites. New gateways are opening into the history of literary Scotland in the second half of the fourteenth century, when men served as translators their apprenticeship to original song—served it now as alliterative craftsmen, now with octosyllabic rime, perhaps even as they sat side by side at the Exchequer table of the Stewart kings—and left behind, however dim their personal memories, a series of splendid achievements in the nascent literature of the North.

